

[Frontispiece]

A VALLEY IN THE LOESS, SHANSI
[see pp. 106 to 111].

[By courtesy of The Freer Gallery of
Art and Shansi Provincial Library].

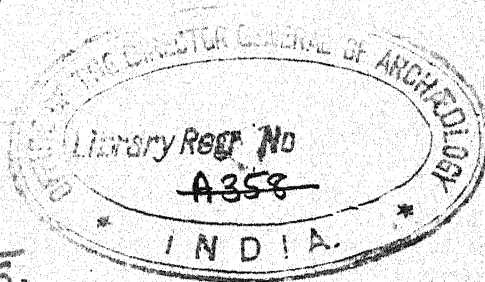
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VOL. LXIV, 1933

EDITED BY ESSON M. GALE

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PROCEEDINGS

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

The Annual General Meeting of the Society, held in the Wu Lien-teh Hall, 6 Museum Road, on Thursday, June 15th, 1933, was memorable in the annals of the Society, as the first such meeting to take place in its newly completed building. The retiring President of the Society, Dr. F. L. Hawks Pott, D.D., taking the chair, addressed the members present:

The year we close to-day is a memorable one in the history of the Society. There was great delay in the completion of our new building on account of the Sino-Japanese conflict. The trouble in Shanghai affected also the drive for funds, and placed us in a serious position financially. At one time we were afraid that we would be forced to curtail our operations, and dispose of our Museum. Through additional gifts to our fund for equipment and by cutting down our running expenses to the lowest possible figure, we were finally able to arrange to resume all our former activities.

The formal opening of the new building took place on February 23rd of this year and since that date we have been functioning normally. Our thanks are due to all those who have helped to make the new building possible—by gifts in money—in materials—in free service of one sort or another. The Honorary Secretary in his report will give a list of donors and benefactors. The list is most gratifying as it indicates the interest in our Society by many different sections of the community—official, educational, commercial, industrial and recreational.

As to the future, I think it is encouraging. I feel confident that as times get better, we shall be able to pay off the overdraft at the Bank of Tls. 40,000. The increased interest in the Society shown by our Chinese friends is also most encouraging. Scholarship has no

national limitations, and it is most fitting that in this Society the scholars of the East and of the West should work in closest co-operation.

As I terminate my tenure of office as President, I venture to make a few suggestions for the consideration of the incoming Council.

(1) I think every effort should be made to enlarge our Library. It is a very valuable collection, but it should be kept up to date by the addition of recent scholarly works on the Orient. We should aim at making it one of the great libraries on the East, and funds should be solicited for this purpose.

(2) I believe that the appointment of a programme committee would have many advantages. It would relieve the Honorary Secretary from one of his heavy responsibilities, if his labour in arranging the programme could be shared with a committee. It would enable us to plan in advance for lectures and lecturers, and to draw on a wider field. Papers might be obtained from scholars in other parts of the country, and we would not be so dependent on those residing in Shanghai or on occasional visitors.

(3) We must aim to keep up a high standard of scholarship, obtaining fresh light on old subjects and encouraging research in fields which as yet have been barely touched. The knowledge of the past helps us to understand the present. I do not refer to the dry-as-dust type of scholarship, but to that which is interesting, instructive and stimulating. That is what the Society has stood for in the past, and that is what it should stand for in the future. In this way we will be a cultural centre, valuable not only to the community, but to scholars throughout the world.

Reports of Officers

The Report of the Honorary Librarian, Miss M. V. McNeely, was read by Miss A. Abraham, who is acting in Miss McNeely's absence on furlough. The report stated that while building operations were going on there was little to be done in connection with the Library; but as soon as conditions were at all favourable the cases were moved over from where they had been stored on Peking Road. They were then opened and the contents checked and arranged on the shelves. This was done by the Assistant Librarians, Messrs. Z. T. Woo and T. Y. Chao,

under the supervision of Miss A. Abraham who both then and up to the present has given much of her time in the interests of the Library.

The space now available makes it all the more desirable that the time should soon arrive when funds would be in hand to make much needed purchases of new books. Meantime it is with gratitude that a record can be made of the 73 books that have come in during the year.

The Annual Report by the Honorary Director of the Museum, Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, was of unusual interest: The past year has been a particularly trying one as far as the Society's Museum is concerned, for it has been fraught with anxiety in more than one direction. In the first place the exposure to which the larger mounted zoological specimens have been unavoidably subjected as the result of their having to be moved from the temporary storage quarters on Peking Road into the new building long before cases were available to receive them has played havoc with many of them, and it will be necessary to discard quite a number as being unfit for further exhibition. Needless to say great care will be exercised in this respect, and nothing will be thrown out altogether, even though unfit for public exhibition that is not replaceable.

In the second place the Society's financial position has been such as to cause the Council to consider seriously whether or not the Museum would be abandoned altogether. Fortunately, an increase in the Shanghai Municipal Council's annual grant towards the Society's expenses obviated this unpleasant possibility, and the Society finally decided to incur the rather heavy additional expense of new and suitable cases for the Museum. This, however, did not take place till the end of March. The order was placed forthwith, but actual work on the cases did not commence till about the middle of April. The woodwork has now been completed, and at the moment the cases are being painted, after which the glass will be put in, when, only, will it be possible to commence the very arduous work of arranging the specimens.

As this means a complete overhauling of the whole of the extensive collections of zoological and other specimens, running into many thousands, it is certain that the Museum cannot be ready for throwing open to the public for several months to come. It is hoped that things will be in readiness for an opening ceremony about the middle of the autumn, but at present no promise to this effect can be made.

Meanwhile many persons kindly disposed toward our efforts to have a first class Museum have made donations, financial and otherwise. The members of the Shanghai Clay Pigeon Club donated the sum of \$750 for show cases for a series of game birds and animals of these regions. This has been arranged for, and it is hoped to have a series of cases with our local game birds and animals arranged in their natural settings as a special feature of the Museum's exhibits. Other cash donations are: Tls. 20 from Miss E. M. Adlam, and \$10 from George M. Franck. It may also be mentioned here that the original donation of \$400 from Mr. Z. U. Kwauk was specifically for the Museum.

An exceedingly welcome presentation was one made through Mr. Jack T. Young, a Chinese explorer from Honolulu, who was with the Kelly-Roosevelt Expedition in 1928, and the Sikong Expedition of 1932, when the ascent of the mighty 24,000 foot Minya Konka on the Tibetan border was made, and who has recently carried out a zoological collecting expedition on his own account in the same territory. Mr. Young, Mr. A. B. Emmons of the Sikong Expedition and Dr. R. L. Crook of Yachow, Szechuan, have presented the Museum with a fine specimen of a fully adult giant panda (*Ailuropus melanoleucus* M.-Edw.), one of China's rarest and most interesting animals. This has been mounted, and along with a very nice specimen of the little panda (*Aelurus fulgens styani* Thomas) kindly presented by Mr. K. Blickle, will be set up in one of the largest show cases, if possible in its natural surroundings of rhododendron and bamboo jungle with a scenic background. This, with the companion case in which will be set up in natural surroundings a grizzly bear and other animals, also from the rugged highlands of the Tibetan border, will make one of the most spectacular features of the Museum. In view of the extreme difficulty experienced in securing specimens of the giant panda, and their rarity in museums generally, the one presented by Mr. Young and his friends is a most valuable acquisition, and the Society certainly owes these gentlemen a hearty vote of thanks for their generosity in giving its Museum one of the only two specimens Mr. Young secured on his arduous, not to say dangerous, expedition into the wilds of the zoologically interesting Mupin area on the Sino-Tibetan border, where the famous Jesuit missionary-naturalist, l'Abbé Armand David, made his

remarkable collections away back in the seventies of the last century.

Further presentations to the zoological collections of the Museum are as follows:

- A little grebe (*Podiceps ruficollis poggei*, Reichenow), by Mr. H. Hone.
- A buzzard (*Buteo ferox hemilasius*, T. & S.), by Mr. H. Hone.
- A black-eared kite (*Milvus lineatus*, Gray), by Mr. Hone.
- A night heron (*Nycticorax nycticorax nycticorax* L.), by Mr. H. Hone.
- A coot (*Fulica atra atra*, L.), by Mr. J. P. F. Klaverwijden.
- A pintail duck (*Anas acuta acuta*, L.), by Mr. J. P. F. Klaverwijden.
- A peregrine falcon (*Falco peregrinus calidus*, Latham), by Mr. J. P. F. Klaverwijden.
- A black-necked grebe (*Podiceps nigricollis nigricollis*, Brehm.), by Mr. J. P. F. Klaverwijden.
- A merganser (*Mergus merganser merganser*, L.), by Mr. J. P. F. Klaverwijden.
- A rasse or spotted civet (*Viverricula malaccensis*, Gm.), by Mr. J. P. F. Klaverwijden.
- A golden pheasant (*Chrysolophus pictus*, L.), by Mr. V. F. Clarke.
- A New Zealand apteryx or kiwi's egg (*Apteryx mantelli?*), by Mr. Rewi Alley.

Besides zoological specimens the Museum has received donations of archaeological or other interest as follows:

- A bronze bowl and a bronze pot, both believed to be of the Chou Period, presented by Mr. K. Blickle.
- A New Zealand stone axe-head, said to be 200 years old, presented by Mr. H. E. McGowan.
- An Australian boomerang, presented by Mr. H. E. McGowan.
- Three Palaeolithic or earlier stone artifacts from West China (a hand-axe and two scrapers), presented by Mr. J. Huston Edgar.

Mr. O. S. Benbow-Rowe, of Shanghai, has placed on loan a fine oil painting of an old style Chinese or Portuguese war-junk by the well known Portuguese painter Carolina Barradas.

Mr. Yinson Lee has offered the Museum a collection of ancient Chinese coins which will be taken delivery of as soon as a case is ready for its reception.

We have received numerous other offers of loans or promises of outright donations of interesting archaeological, ethnological and artistic material as soon as we are ready to receive them, all of which, with the numerous enquiries we are receiving as to when the Museum will be open to the public once more, eloquently attest the great interest that is shown by the Shanghai community in this branch of the Society's activities.

Not only is the Shanghai community interested in our Museum, but many distinguished scientists abroad, as witnessed by a special call made last winter by Dr. Frederic Wood Jones, F.R.S., D.Sc., M.B., B.S., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., F.Z.S., Professor of Anatomy at Melbourne University, Australia, and a Director of the Peking Union Medical College for 1932-33, who had been counting on the Royal Asiatic Society Museum in Shanghai to provide him with an opportunity of studying China's natural history during his visit to this country. It was sad, indeed, that he was forced to leave China disappointed, owing to the fact that our collections were not available for inspection.

I have also recently received a letter from Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews, the well-known explorer of Mongolia, and Vice-Director of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, enquiring about certain specimens in our herpetological collection. Many other enquiries have from time to time been received from abroad.

It will be seen, then, that our Museum is of international importance, and, in view of this fact and its undoubted value and interest to the Shanghai community, it is to be hoped that it will receive the fullest possible support, financial and otherwise, from this community.

In his Report as the Editor of the *Journal*, Dr. Esson M. Gale recalled that through the contributions of recognized authorities in the variety of fields characterizing Sinology, the *Journal* remains a repository of highly valuable data relating to the Chinese people and their associated ethnic and cultural groups: This venerable periodical has been since 1858 a vehicle for monographs on all aspects of Chinese civilization, and its volumes are to be found in the important scientific and cultural institutions of the world. The roster of contributors includes names distinguished in Chinese studies since the middle

of the last century. Editorial policy has been to provide material of sound scholarship and yet of wide interest and value to residents of China and students abroad.

Contributions, to the forthcoming number of the *Journal* (Vol. LXIV) had been received by the Editor on a wide variety of topics, implying either the need of a larger single annual volume, or the issue of more than one volume in the year. The current encouragement of sinological studies in Europe, America and Japan, now rivals the interest of the West in Indology characterizing the XIXth century. It is significant that Chinese scholars, by their valuable contributions, are now adding to the international aspects of the *Journal's* authorship. Aside from the older periodical publications of Oriental societies and institutes of which the *Journal* of this Society ranks among the first in establishment, the field is being covered additionally and thus even more thoroughly than ever by the newly extended sinological section of the *Journal* of the American Oriental Society and the notable publication of l'Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoise.

The Rev. Evan Morgan, D.D., retires now as Editor of the *Journal* of the Society after a period of devotion to a task highly laborious, but to which he has brought a scholarship the ripe product of years of profound study and wide accomplishment.

The Report of the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. F. B. Winter, was adopted as proposed by Mr. J. R. Jones and seconded by Dr. E. Morgan. The debit balance of the building account of the Society was shown as \$48,733.04, to which \$5,000 is to be added for the completion of the Museum, while the debit balance of the working account was \$4,121.96.

In the Report of the Honorary Secretary, Mr. R. D. Abraham, the Society's activities for the year 1932-33 were reviewed in detail. Mr. Abraham's remarks were as follows:

During the year which ended on May 31, 1933, the following lectures were delivered before the Society:

"Recollections of Chinese Turkestan." Prof. Paul Pelliot.

"Early Chinese Travellers Abroad." Dr. Wu Lien-teh.

"A Pictorial Excursion into the Realms of Chinese Paintings." R. D. Abraham, Esq.

- "Some Further Notes on the History of the Days of the Week." Dr. H. Chatley.
"The Origin of Loess." John B. Penniston, Esq.
"Noted Porcelains of Successive Dynasties." Dr. J. C. Ferguson.
"China's Rich Flora and Fauna." A. de C. Sowerby, Esq.
"Whence Came the Chinese People?—Theories Past and Present." Dr. Esson M. Gale.
"The Early Jesuits." Rev. C. W. Allan.

The lectures which, as will be seen, covered a wide range of subjects, were well-attended, and in every case were listened to with pleasure and appreciation. The Lecturers, some of whom spoke at very short notice, are deserving of the Society's grateful thanks.

In December, 1932, advantage was taken of the presence in Shanghai for a few days only of the very distinguished archaeologist and savant, Prof. Paul Pelliot, to request him to lecture before the Society. He willingly complied, and delivered an address which was intensely interesting to those who were so fortunate as to be present. The first lecture in the Society's new building was delivered by Dr. Wu Lien-teh, his discourse being listened to by an appreciative audience. During a short visit to Shanghai, Dr. John C. Ferguson was prevailed on to deliver what proved to be a most erudite address on Chinese Porcelains.

Membership.—The period under review constituted a record year in applications for membership in the Society. No less than 109 new members were elected. There were eighteen resignations; and it has to be recorded with regret that four members died. There was thus a net gain in membership of eighty-seven.

Interest of members in the work of the Society appears to be more keen and sustained, and it is hoped and believed that the Society is now entering a new era of even greater interest by its members and added usefulness to, and appreciation by the Community generally.

Opening of New Building.—On Thursday, February 23, 1933, Mr. A. D. Bell, Chairman of the Shanghai Municipal Council, assisted by Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei, President of Academia Sinica, formally opened the Society's new building before a large and enthusiastic gathering. There was a general feeling of relief that after years of hard struggle, the new building was a

fait accompli. It is indeed a pleasure to be able again to address our Members in our own Hall, which has been named after Dr. Wu Lien-teh. This has not been possible for the last two years, while, for a number of years previous, the dangerous condition of the old building was an ever-present consideration.

It was thought at one time that, for financial reasons, the Society's Museum would have to be closed or abandoned and that the floors which it now occupies in the building would have to be rented to enable the Society to carry on at all; but the timely aid of the Shanghai Municipal Council (whose previous annual grant of Tls. 1,000 was raised to Tls. 6,000 following the special donation of Tls. 50,000 which is referred to in the Report for the previous year) has meant that the Society will now be able to carry on in all of its spheres of activity, and has shown that the Shanghai Municipal Council realises the important position which the Society occupies in the life of Shanghai. It is certain that the Shanghai Municipal Council will never regret the aid they have accorded us, just as it is hoped that they will continue to co-operate in furthering the Society's standing and usefulness. It is believed that the Museum will be completely ready again in the Autumn, when the full activities of the Society will once more have been resumed.

Financial.—The Accounts, which have been submitted by Mr. F. B. Winter, the Hon. Treasurer, have already been read, but it may not be altogether inapposite to pass a few comments on the Society's financial position generally.

The position now is that with more members, with an increased rate of annual subscription, and with an augmented grant from the Shanghai Municipal Council, the Society can pay its way; but there will be nothing left either for repairs or for amortization of the Society's loan. This, it will generally be agreed, is not sound business. The Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation have been extremely tolerant and considerate with us in the matter of our overdraft, so much so, indeed, that we have not yet availed ourselves of the concession of H.B.M. Government to mortgage the land on which our building stands. It is inevitable, however, that unless we make serious and successful efforts to the end of progressively reducing our overdraft, we shall not be able always to ward off such a contingency. It follows, therefore, that every additional dollar of income which

we may receive in future must be used for this purpose, in order that, in the shortest possible time, the building may definitely become the Society's property, free of all financial encumbrances. Till this has been accomplished, our slogan should be "Subscribe to the Building Fund and make the building our own."

It must gratefully be recorded that we have had practical encouragement from all sections of the community, Chinese and foreign. The Shanghai Municipal Council has, of course, been the mainstay of our financial support during the past two years, while the French Consul-General has sent us a generous donation from a special fund which is at his disposal. We received an appreciable donation from the now defunct Shanghai Gun Club, while two other local sporting organisations—the China National Amateur Athletic Federation and the Shanghai Football Association, have jointly given us a generous contribution. Practically all of the contractors and firms concerned in the erection and equipment of our building gave liberally, either in kind or in the form of what may be termed rebates, these latter meaning, in the majority of cases, that the concerns in question performed their work at cost. Mrs. A. de C. Sowerby made a special individual effort to bring in funds, and her strenuous labours in this respect call for a special meed of praise. Also specially deserving of mention is Mr. A. Corrit, M.I.C.E. (Denmark), whose knowledge and experience as a constructional engineer were generously placed at the disposal of the Society in connection with the construction of the new building.

The Society's gratitude is due also to the Members of the Building Sub-Committee—Mr. G. L. Wilson and Mr. Ellis Hayim—for the hard and successful work which they have done in bringing funds to the Society. With economic and kindred conditions as they were, it was an unenviable task. They met with many rebuffs, but carried on undaunted, and the outcome of their efforts must be considered as gratifying indeed. Thanks are due to the many individuals, both in China and abroad, who have already subscribed to the Building Fund.

But—and this cannot too strongly be emphasised—the Society needs more and more money still; and in expressing a hope that Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hayim will continue in their good work as far as they are able, the correlative hope must be expressed that all other members of the Society will miss no opportunity of procuring some

financial help, in whatever amount, for the Society's depleted coffers.

The furnishing of the various rooms in the building has given the Members of the Council great anxiety. The difficulties which have existed in this respect, and which at times appeared to be almost insurmountable, have mostly been overcome; and the Library and Auditorium have already been equipped with the necessary furniture. It is now morally certain that the Museum also will be opened in the early Autumn, with a good type of showcase.

It may be mentioned regarding the Library that every effort is being made to bring it up to date in publications, and to have all the books completely re-catalogued. As a matter of fact, the new catalogue is practically ready, all that is needed now being the funds to pay for its being printed. It is the work of our Hon. Librarian, Miss McNeely, who is now on a well-earned leave, and to whom our grateful thanks are due for the work she has carried out and the manner in which she has looked after her charge.

Thanks are due to Mr. Ignaz Freise for the gift of a magnificent Dictionary of Botany, in manuscript form, which has been prepared by himself after many years of hard and painstaking labour. It is hoped, when funds permit, that the Society will have the book printed and made available to the world. Mr. E. B. Heaton-Smith, on leaving Shanghai some months ago, generously donated to the Society a number of books which are acquisitions to the Library. In this connection, it may not commonly be appreciated that gifts of any books which are suitable for the Library will be very welcome.

I appear to have strayed somewhat from my original intention of commenting on the Society's financial position; but, in the circumstances, the digressions of which I have been guilty are perhaps inevitable.

The basic fact which emerges from the activities of the Society during the past twelve months is that they have seen brought to a completion what has been a kind of dream to some of us for many years—the magnificent building in which we now meet. The founders of this unique British institution in the Far East, serving a wide international community, and the long line of Officers who have laboured for more than seventy years could not, I feel sure, have wished anything better than our present building and what it offers, as a material tribute to their

efforts and a concrete outcome of their ideals. I will not dwell further on the subject except to state—and I am sure you all will agree with me—that our building is as worthy of the Society's honourable past as it will be worthy of the Society's future, and that it stands as a lasting monument to the efforts and generosity of those who, in order that it could be, have so unstintingly striven and given.

In conclusion, I would ask permission to strike a personal note. I relinquish the position of Hon. Secretary with regret. In doing so, I would wish to place on permanent record that during the whole period of my office my duties have invariably been lightened and their performance rendered more of a pleasure than a task by the always-unstinted support, co-operation and encouragement which I have received from my colleagues on the Council of the Society; and in thanking them all for their generous assistance at all times and on all occasions, I can only state that if they accord to my successor a like meed of consideration, his labours will be lightened to an extent which can only be appreciated by being experienced.

Resolution on Retirement of Mr. R. D. Abraham from the Hon. Secretaryship

Upon the conclusion of the reading of the Honorary Secretary's Report, the following Resolution was proposed by Dr. E. Morgan, seconded by Mr. A. J. Hughes, and carried unanimously: That as Mr. R. D. Abraham feels he can no longer serve the Society as Hon. Secretary that we offer him our hearty and grateful thanks for his manifold services during the years he has served the Society in that capacity. In addition to the ordinary work Mr. Abraham has served the Society in an important epoch of its history, the building of a new home. This has devolved much extra work and responsibility on the Secretary. These have been efficiently carried. To his care and guidance much of the success of the enterprise is due. We are glad that we shall still have his help and co-operation as a Councillor.

The following new officers and members of the Council were elected at this meeting:—

President, Rev. Evan Morgan, D.D.; Vice-President, A. de C. Sowerby, Esq., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S.; Hon. Director of Museum, A. de C. Sowerby, Esq., F.Z.S., F.R.G.S.; Hon.

Keeper of Ornithology, E. S. Wilkinson, Esq.; Hon. Keeper of Botany, Prof. W. M. Porterfield; Hon. Keeper of Archaeology, Harold Porter, Esq., C.M.G.; Honorary Librarian, Miss M. V. McNeely; Acting Hon. Librarian, Miss A. Abraham; Honorary Treasurer, F. B. Winter, Esq.; Editor of Journal, Esson M. Gale, M.A., PH.D. (Leyden); Councillors, R. D. Abraham, Esq., H. Chatley, D.Sc. (Lond.), J. W. O. Davidson, Esq., O.B.E., Ch. Grosbois, Esq., M.A., A. J. Hughes, Esq., J. R. Jones, Esq., M.A., C. Kliene, Esq., Rev. F. L. Hawks Pott, D.D., Rev. G. W. Sheppard, Dr. C. T. Wang, G. L. Wilson, Esq., F.R.I., B.A., F.S.I., Wu Lien-teh, M.A., M.D. (Cantab.); Honorary Secretary, R. S. Heaney, Esq.

NEW MEMBERS

W. J. Burnett,
Mrs. A. E. N. Howard,
H. Hobden,
Ignaz Freise,
C. P. Ling,
P. K. Chu,
Dr. L. Usang Ly,
I. E. Roberts,
E. G. Clarke,
C. E. Sparke,
Dr. A. C. Bryson,
F. Schwyzer,
F. R. Freeman,
H. H. Arnold,
W. G. Crockam,
Dr. Herman C. E. Liu,
Zih Dzu Sing,
Norwood F. Allman,
Li Ming,
Lucius C. Porter,
O. D. Terrell,
M. A. Jaspar,
Dr. Kiyo Sui Inui,
L. Carrington Goodrich,
Dr. D. K. Lieu,
Hallett Abend,
Bishop Herbert Welch,
A. L. Newman,
R. S. Heaney,
Mrs. D. McGillivray,
K. P. Chen,
Cheng Tsee Yoong,
F. J. Raven,
Mrs. Bang How,
Dr. Anton Walk,
A. M. Cannan,
A. R. A. Lambelet,
Rev. C. W. Allan,

Dr. C. T. Wang,
C. C. Kuo,
J. A. Mendelson,
J. D. Carriere,
Rev. F. J. White,
Mrs. L. Laurenz,
Joseph E. Spencer,
Dr. C. W. Low,
A. Mogabgab,
F. Hoehnke,
E. S. Robertson,
Capt. D. Ferguson,
F. A. Harris,
W. von Norman,
E. Evensen,
Dr. E. Evan-Jones,
Edward K. Kwong,
Mrs. F. L. Hawks Pott,
Harry Morriss,
Rev. E. K. Smith,
A. J. Welch,
R. V. Dent,
Henry Lester Inst. of
Medical Research,
William Yinson Lee,
Kwang Tou Chang,
J. Robertson,
Herman Hone,
Dr. A. P. Keaney,
H. K. Murphy,
A. D. Bell,
H. K. Kwong,
A. Bookless,
Mrs. F. J. Raven,
Cyril B. Cook,
Miss A. Abraham,
Axel Jacobsen,
M. Fazal Elahi,

J. Hundley Wiley,
 S. L. Kwauk,
 F. A. Olsen,
 Henri Lanbert,
 Raymond D. H. Puckle,
 L. T. Chen,
 N. G. Beale,
 F. C. Millington,
 Very Rev. Dean Trivett,
 Hugh Martin,
 G. E. Sabelstrom,
 C. W. Pennett,
 Major W. S. Nathan,
 Dr. Kuo Ping Wen,
 Hsu Sinloh,
 Dr. D. C. Tsen,
 T. Lauderdale,

R. J. Corbett,
 J. Lewis
 William Z. L. Sung,
 Dr. Y. C. Ma,
 Dr. Li Ting-an,
 John A. Bristow,
 Dr. William M. Nethery,
 Roscoe L. Hambleton,
 H. V. Poullain,
 Naosaku Uchida,
 Mrs. Barding S. Fritz,
 J. W. O. Davidson,
 Paul S. Hopkins,
 Sherman H. M. Chang,
 S. H. Peek,
 J. C. Pain,
 Dr. R. C. Robertson.

Total 109 members elected June 1932 to May 1933.

RESIGNATIONS

Allan Archer,
 Rev. Brownell Gage,
 Rev. Abraham Heidell,
 O. Jorgensen,
 H. Phillips,
 O. D. Terrell,
 C. A. V. Bowra,
 Rev. R. J. Gould,
 Mrs. L. C. Hylbert,

Mrs. D. J. Lewis,
 Wm. E. Souter,
 F. D. Zau,
 Hugh Flint,
 T. Handell,
 J. E. Jacobs,
 Miss J. M. Martin,
 W. H. Taylor,
 Miss E. R. Margoliouth.

Deaths

Comte L. Du Monceau,
 T. Sahara,

Dr. J. W. H. Ferguson,
 Professor J. W. Jenks.

Total 22 Members
 New Members
 R. & D.

109
 22

87 added to 1933 list

539 Ord.
 142 Life
 13 Hon.
 1 Cor.

695 total

1932 list 608
 New Members 109

less Res. & D. 717
 22

695 total

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, NORTH CHINA BRANCH.
BUILDING FUND BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH MAY, 1933.

To Balance on 30th May, 1932	..	\$13,653.26
" Interest on current Account	..	271.77
" Donations to Building Fund	..	14,885.98
" " Auditorium and Library	..	
" " Furnishing	..	2,910.74
" " Museum	..	787.71
" Debit balance on 30th May, 1933	..	48,733.04

Audited and found correct,
A. F. CLARK.
SHANGHAI, 30th May, 1933.

By Crittall Manufacturing Co.	..	\$ 202.18
" Arnhold & Co., Ltd.	..	2,479.73
" Scott Harding & Co., Ltd.	..	7,702.87
" Fong Saey Kee	..	26,522.80
" Fagan & Co.	..	3,019.83
" Gordon & Co., Ltd.	..	18,541.28
" Tanaki & Co.	..	7,933.38
" Asia Glass Co.	..	170.68
" Pilkington Glass Co.	..	492.27
" Yah Chen Safe & Lock Co.	..	2,840.10
" Soy Chong & Co.	..	821.64
" Palmer & Turner	..	5,315.68
" Shing Tai Electric Co.	..	2,352.37
" S. M. C. Public Works Dept.	..	12.00
" L. H. de Cosier	..	70.13
" Ja Chong & Co.	..	142.00
" Dr. Hawks Pott for Chairs	..	1,109.00
" Benjamin & Potts:—	..	403.08
" 3 Pref. Shares Power Co.	..	1,111.48
" Interest on overdraft	..	
		<u>\$81,242.50</u>

F. B. WINTER,
Hon. Treasurer,
Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, NORTH CHINA BRANCH.
BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH MAY, 1933.

To	Subscriptions:—		By	Rental to Shanghai Co., Ltd. ..	Land	Investment	\$
Annual	\$3,937.57	"	Rates and Taxes ..	..	..	510.20
Life	606.35	"	Land Tax ..	..	..	1,830.06
			"	Water ..	..	..	684.73
" S. M. C. Grants	"	Electricity ..	..	..	147.09
" Interest on Debentures:—	"	Coal ..	..	..	222.88
S. M. C.	\$ 102.52	"	Wages:—	..	..	452.27
Mackenzie & Co., Ltd.	30.11	"	Taxidermist ..	..	\$ 647.55	
Shanghai Power Co.	19.01	"	Assist. Librarian ..	..	1,903.25	
Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd. 97.63	..		"	Liftman ..	..	243.40	
			"	Furnaceman ..	..	156.38	
Hire of Hall	"	Coolies ..	..	130.40	3,080.98
Sale of Journals	"	Advertising:—	..	..
Rental from China Journal	"	North China ..	..	\$ 136.24	
Museum	"	China Press ..	..	55.27	
Refund from New Zealand Insurance Co., Ltd.	"	Sunday Times ..	..	80.97	
Debit Balance on 30th May, 1933	"	Evening Post ..	..	8.39	280.87
			"	Subscriptions:—	..	..
			"	China Recorder ..	..	\$ 5.00	
			"	India Society ..	..	17.36	
			"	Kokka Publishing Co. ..	..	65.04	
			"	China Digest ..	..	7.00	
			"	Schmuser's Accounting Bureau ..	..	5.00	99.40

LIST OF SECURITIES HELD BY THE H. & S. B. C. FOR THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Title Deed B.C. Lot 12416 with Declaration of Trust attached.

1 Debenture Mackenzie & Co., Ltd. (1st Mortgage) 6% @ Tls. 700.00, 1913.

1 " Shanghai Municipal Council Loan 6% 1926 @ Tls. 500.00.

5 " " " " 6% 1926 @ Tls. 100.00 each.

2 " " " " 6% 1925 @ Tls. 100.00 each.

8 " Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd., 8% 1921 @ Tls. 100.00 each.

3 Power Pref. (retained with Power Company in lieu of deposit).

DONATIONS TO BUILDING FUND.

FROM 31ST MAY, 1932 TO 30TH MAY, 1933.

Jardine, Matheson & Co., Ltd.	..	..	..	£1,000.00	
Duncan, A. McL.	..	..	..	50.00	
E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd.	..	..	..	5,000.00	
Shanghai Waterworks Co., Ltd.	..	..	..	1,000.00	
Fitch, Geo.	..	..	..		\$ 50.00
Farley, M. F.	..	..	..	U.S. \$ 5.00	
Morris, H. H.	..	..	..	50.00	
Ly, J. Usang	..	..	..		21.00
Mathieson, J. C.	..	..	..		10.00
Jordan, Dr. J.	..	..	..		30.00
Tankai & Co.	..	..	..	1,000.00	
White, H. O.	..	..	..		50.00
Caisse des Oeuvres d'Interet Public	..	..	..		1,000.00
Chen, K. P.	..	..	..	100.00	
Wilkinson, Heywood & Clark	..	..	..	55.30	
Sassoon, Sir Victor	..	..	..	1,000.00	
Vogel, Dr. W.	..	..	..		50.00
Othner, Dr. W.	..	..	..		50.00
Porter, H.	..	..	..		140.00
Adlam, Miss E. M. (Museum)	..	..	..	20.00	
Frank, G. M.	..	..	..		10.00
Clay Pigeon Club	..	..	..		750.00

AUDITORIUM & LIBRARY FURNISHING.

Soong, T. V.	..	..	..	..	£100.00	
New, W. S.	..	..	..	..	200.00	
Chen, J. H.	..	..	..	..	100.00	
Nie, P.	..	..	..	..	50.00	
Lieu, O. S.	..	..	..	..	100.00	
Wang, C. T.	..	..	..	..	50.00	
Joseph, R. M.	..	..	..	..		25.00
Abraham, Miss A.	..	..	..	..		15.00
Anonymous	..	..	..	..		25.00
Abraham, D. E. J.	..	..	..	..	100.00	
Nissim, E.	..	..	..	..	25.00	
Wright, G. H.	..	..	..	..	250.00	
Lieu, K. S.	..	..	..	..	25.00	
Morris, H. E.	..	..	..	..	500.00	
Toeg, S. E.	..	..	..	..	100.00	
Lauderdale, T.	..	..	..	..	100.00	
Li Ming	..	..	..	..	100.00	
Keswick, W. J.	..	..	..	..	25.00	
Hsu Sing Loh	..	..	..	..	100.00	
Roberts, Mr. & Mrs. D.	..	..	..	..		10.00
Zih Szu Sing	..	..	..	..	100.00	

EARLY CHINESE TRAVELLERS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS¹

By WU LIEN-TEH, M.A., M.D., D.Sc.

I deeply appreciate the honour which the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society have conferred upon me by asking me to deliver the first lecture in these newly-completed premises of the Society.

In choosing my subject "Early Chinese Travellers" I am mindful of the fact that it covers a wide field, that authorities to be consulted, whether Chinese or foreign, are few and scattered, and that the data, even when collected, are not quite well-balanced, for some parts are too short, others too long and the rest too uncertain. However, with your permission I will try during the next half-hour at my disposal to entertain you with the results of my humble search for Chinese travellers of the past, who have ventured outside their flowery land in search of faith, gold, learning, power, conquest, love and other human desires.

I have here a list of thirty-five persons of both sexes commencing from 500 B.C. (Eastern Chou dynasty) until about fifty years ago before the break-up of the Ch'ing dynasty.

1. MÈNG CHIANG 孟姜.—So far as I can ascertain, the first Chinese to have travelled outside the confines of the China of those days was a lady—Mèng Chiang 孟姜 by name—who was married to an official named Ch'i Liang 杞梁 serving under the Eastern Chou dynasty (500 B.C.). Unfortunately, three days after their wedding, the bridegroom disappeared, and she was told that for political

¹ Inaugural address delivered on the occasion of the opening of the new building of the Royal Asiatic Society (North China Branch), February 23rd, 1933.

reasons he had been exiled for an indeterminate period to Ch'ang Ch'êng 長城. Mêng Chiang waited in vain for his return, and after years of uncertainty resolved to find him. One winter she prepared thick clothing and set out with an old male servant on a long journey. It was said that Mêng Chiang travelled ten thousand *li*—over mountains, across rivers and desert plains—as far as the borders of present Mongolia before she reached her destination, only to discover that her husband had died years previously and had been buried under the city wall. She wept day and night on the spot, and on the seventh day part of the mud wall collapsed, revealing the apparent remains of her husband. The sorrowful widow collected the bones and brought them back to his home, after which she drowned herself in the Tzū River 淄水.

2. HSÜ SHIH 徐市 (3rd Century B.C.).—The second traveller was Hsü Shih or Hsü Fu, a Taoist monk who was commissioned by Ch'in Shih Huang-ti 秦始皇帝, builder of the Great Wall and the emperor who first united the loose feudal states of China into a conglomerate whole, to proceed to the three fairy isles in the East Sea and search for the elixir of life. These islands were known as P'englai 蓬萊, Fangchang 方丈 and Yingchou 瀛洲. Hsü Shih fitted out an expedition consisting of several large sailing vessels, carrying on board besides his retinue about three thousand youths and maidens as offerings to the fairies. But the party never returned, nor was it heard of afterwards. It is believed by Chinese that these youthful travellers to the Eastern Seas were among some of the earliest ancestors of the Japanese, whose descendants unto this day possess names corresponding to Chinese surnames, such as Lin 林 (Hayashi), Ch'in 秦 (Hata), Yüan 原 (Hara), Wu 吳 (Kure), T'ien 田 (Ta), Tung 東 (Higashi), Nan 南 (Minami), Hsi 西 (Nishii), etc.

3. CHANG CH'EN 張騫 (2nd Century B.C.).—Between the third and second centuries B.C. three nomadic tribes of Mongolian origin, namely, the Yueh-chi, Hiung-nu and Wu-sun, were constantly warring for power and territory over a wide area of land stretching from present West Kansu over Hindu-kush, Bactria, Sogdiana, Afghanistan, Herat, Kandahar, Sind, Ferghana to the Oxus Valley near modern Bokhara. Emperor Wu Ti of the Han dynasty, who himself had had incessant troubles with the Hiung-nu (the Huns of European history), sent in 128 B.C. his minister Chang Ch'ien, accompanied by a

large retinue, as ambassador with presents of silk to many of the powers of West Central Asia. On the way—only the land route was then known—he was taken prisoner by the Hiung-nu, and spent almost eight years of rather pleasant captivity among them. During this time he was able to study carefully the geography and habits of the inhabitants and send important information to his emperor for future use. Finally Chang Ch'ien escaped to Ta-yüan (Ferghana), whose people "having heard of the wealth and fertility of China, had tried in vain to communicate with it." Here Chang Ch'ien saw certain bamboo and cloth goods of Chinese make and was told they had been brought in through India (Yen-tu). It appeared that Chinese wares had reached India by indirect trading through the primitive tribes from the south-west of China, whereas Chang Ch'ien had himself taken the north-west route. Plans were accordingly laid before Wu Ti.

So it was resolved to open up a north-western route, and war was resumed on a grand scale against the Hiung-nu. Operations were almost immediately successful, the Western Horde of the Hiung-nu was severely defeated and driven away to the north, and Chinese dominion was advanced as far as Lop-nor (121 B.C.). The way being now clear, embassies were despatched during the next few years to all the countries mentioned by Chang Ch'ien in his report, and the diplomatic ambitions of Wu Ti were to a great extent realized. The *Shih-chi* or Official Records relate: "Such missions would be attended by several hundred men, or by a hundred men, according to their importance. At least five or six missions were sent out in the course of a year, and as a rule more than ten; those sent to distant countries would return home after eight or nine years, those to nearer ones within a few years." Chang Ch'ien had reported that there was no sericulture in the western lands, so that silk formed a large part of the ambassadorial gifts; those to the Wu-sun were specified as silk and gold.

The climax of Wu Ti's forward policy in Central Asia was the conquest of Ferghana by the war of 104-100 B.C. The Emperor sent presents to the king of Ferghana and requested in return a number of the special breed of horses for which his realm was famous. But Ferghana was by this time "overstocked with Chinese produce," and there was reluctance to give away the precious horses. Deeming that Chinese power could not reach them, the

king and magnates of Ferghana rejected the demand; the Chinese envoys used insulting language, and were in retaliation murdered at the frontier on their return journey. A Chinese army under a general named Li Kuang-li 李廣利 was sent to avenge them, but it was driven back after many of the troops had perished from starvation in the Tarim deserts. Wu Ti, however, refused to admit defeat. "The Emperor thought that his having dispatched an unsuccessful expedition against Ferghana, a small country, would cause Bactria and other neighbouring states to feel contempt for China, and that the pedigreed horses of Ferghana would never be forthcoming." A new army was therefore sent out—"60,000 men not counting those who followed as carriers of extra provisions; 100,000 oxen; more than 30,000 horses, myriads of donkeys, mules and camels, and a commissariat well-stocked with supplies besides cross-bows and other arms. All parts of the empire had to bestir themselves in making contributions." This force overcame the desert by dividing into columns which took different routes; on reaching Ferghana it won a decisive victory and obtained the submission of the country. Subsequently "China sent more than ten embassies to countries west of Ferghana to collect curiosities and at the same time to impress upon such countries the importance of the victory over Ferghana."

Thus by the end of the second century B.C., within twenty-eight years of the discovery by Chang Ch'ien of China's "New World," Chinese arms had penetrated triumphantly west of the Pamir divide, and regular intercourse with Western Asia had been established. And now through Western Asia an indirect trade gradually developed, linking China with Europe. During the early years of the first century the use of silk, which at the Parthian court probably dated from the coming of the first Chinese embassy, spread from Parthia to the Mediterranean. The taste won its way to Europe at a time when the unification by Rome of the whole Mediterranean world had given unprecedented stimulus to industry and commerce and had created an enormously rich ruling class with an appetite for every kind of exotic luxury.

In Ferghana, in the valley of the upper Iaxartes, the army of Li Kuang-li advancing from the east encamped perhaps on the very ground which 227 years before had seen the tents of Alexander of Macedon. The great march of Alexander from the Hellespont to the Pamirs and the

Punjab spread Greek settlements over Western Asia and brought Mesopotamia, Iran and India into one world of intercommunication with the lands of the Mediterranean. But it did nothing to open a road to China, which remained separate, secluded, utterly unknown, as if it had been on another planet. Between Alexandria the Furthest and the Chinese pale in Kansu there intervened such a barrier of natural wilderness as did not anywhere confront the traveller between Spain and Bengal. A modern traveller has called the Takla-makan "the most appalling desert on the face of the earth." The bridging of this gap was accomplished not from the west but from the east, not by the Persians or by the Greeks but by the Chinese themselves. It was the Chinese who, first by an exploring diplomacy and then by force of arms, broke through to the land which alike for Achaemenid and Macedonian had been nothing but a cul-de-sac. Chang Ch'ien had indeed done well!

4. WANG CHAO-CHÜN 王昭君 (1st Century B.C.).—We may now pass on to Wang Chao-chün, one of the four historical beauties of China. Chao-chün (the name by which she is usually known) was one of the hundreds of maidens sent to the Imperial court of Yüan Ti 元帝 (48-33 B.C.) to be selected as imperial concubines; but, though most beautiful she was unfortunate enough to incur the displeasure of the Court painter Mao Yen-shou 毛延壽 who, because the father had not paid him sufficient *largesse*, purposely added a few blemishes to the portrait of the young applicant, thus making her homely instead of lovely. For three years she lingered in solitude in one of the deserted palaces and was only brought out when a threatening leader of the Hiung-nu tribe applied for a Chinese bride to take to Mongolia. Yüan Ti then selected whom he thought was the ugliest among the women-in-waiting in his palace for this occasion, and it was only when the incomparable Chao-chün knelt before the Imperial Presence to say good-bye, that Yüan Ti found how badly he had been deceived by his minister. But it was then too late and against his will he had to see the forlorn beauty ride off on her long trip to Mongolia. However, the unhappy exile did her duty and bore a son to the Mongolian Prince and brought him up until he was ready for the throne. Unfortunately at the death of the ruler Mongolian custom demanded that the new Prince should wed his own mother. This Chao-chün, as a strict follower of Confucius, could never follow; so she

committed suicide. To this day Chao-chün has been regarded as the most virtuous of the four historical beauties and her ever-green graveyard may still be seen marked by a stone tablet in the city of Sui-yüan 綏遠.

5. PAN CH'AO 班超 and KAN YING 甘英 (A.D. 1st Century).—These were two famous generals sent by Ming Ti to western countries for purposes of pacification work which lasted sixteen years. The latter reached Babylonia in A.D. 97 and made a treaty with its ruler. From these we now pass on to the early group of learned and adventurous Buddhists who made long journeys overland to India in search of Buddhistic scriptures for use in China. Earliest among these was:

6. CHU SHIH-HSING 朱士行 (A.D. 260).—Chu lived during the troublous times of the Three Kingdoms. He could with fair accuracy be called the first Chinese priest to have proceeded far abroad. Starting from Loyang, the then capital, he reached Yü-t'ien (Khotan) in 260 after one year's difficult travelling. Here he found the new faith in a flourishing condition and obtained a sutra of ninety sections which Chufahu (a priest of the Getae nation) and other disciples translated into Chinese. He made his home at Khotan and died there. After him, there followed more than one hundred monks bent upon the same mission of study, namely, fifty-three during the years 260-581 and fifty-two during the years 628-789.

7. FA HSIEN 法顯 (A.D. 5th Century).—The next, Fa Hsien, whose name has been immortalised in the western world by the translations of Remusat, Beal, Legge and Giles, was a native of P'ing-yang 平陽. He practically walked from Central China in the fifth century across the desert of Gobi over the Hindu Kush, and then traversed India down to the mouth of the Hoogly, where he took ship. After fifteen years' absence he returned by sea to China, bringing back what he went forth to secure—books of the Buddhist canon and images of Buddhist deities. On his self-imposed mission, Fa Hsien was accompanied by similarly devout priests like Hui Ching, Tao Chêng, Hui Ying, Hui Wei and others. The party started from Ch'ang-an, the capital, crossed the Lung division of Shensi and Kansu, reached the market town of Chang-yeh (Kansu), where more pilgrims joined them. At Tun-huang on the Great Wall, they obtained all necessaries for braving the Gobi desert. Their impressions of this were: "In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds; those who encounter them

perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Only the bleached bones of man and beast point the way."

At Shan-shen (south of Lop-nor) they were received hospitably by the king who had adopted the Faith, and whose subjects practised the religion of India. Details of this historic journey are vividly described in Fa Hsien's *Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, such as his visit to Hiro (where was situated a shrine containing Buddha's skull-bone covered with precious stones); their trials when crossing the snowy mountains of Safed Koh, at which spot his companion Hui Ching developed frost-bite and asked to be left to die; the arrival of the two surviving pilgrims in Afghanistan (where lived 3,000 priests); and later the land of the Brahmans (where the ruler used no corporal punishment but merely a fine according to the gravity of the offence, and where rooms, food and clothing were ever provided for resident and travelling priests). After staying at Pataliputra (Patna), where Asoka once ruled, they passed the Deccan and reached the Ganges, whose course they followed as far as the kingdom of Champa. From Tamluk (mouth of the Hoogly) Fa Hsien, now alone, embarked upon a merchant vessel for Kandy in Ceylon, where Buddha's tooth may up to this moment be seen. Fa Hsien found Ceylon full of Buddhistic relics and stayed there for two years. Finally, he took a vessel with 200 other souls on board bound for Java, but during a storm the ship sprang a leak. Excitement reigned supreme for 13 days, during which progress was only made possible by reference to the sun, moon and constellations, the ship not keeping any definite course and drifting at the mercy of wind and wave. Thus they continued for 90 days and at last arrived in Java, "where heresies and Brahmanism flourished." After five months' stay, Fa Hsien took another vessel bound for Canton, but a heavy gale drove it to Ch'ang Kuang (modern Tsingtao) in Shantung, where they obtained fresh water and vegetables. Fa Hsien thus ended his wonderful narrative:

"I spent six years in travelling from Ch'ang-an to Central India; there I stayed six years, and it took me three more to reach Ch'ing-chou. The countries I passed through numbered more than thirty. From the sandy desert (Gobi) westward all the way to India, the dignified deportment of the priesthood and the good influence of the Faith were beyond all praise. As the ecclesiastics

at home had no chance to hear about these things, I gave no thought to my own unimportant life, but came home across the sea, encountering still more difficulties and dangers. Happily, I was accorded protection by the divine majesty of the precious Trinity, and was thus preserved in the hour of danger. Therefore I write down on these bamboo tablets and silk an account of what I have been through, desiring that the gentle reader should share my information."

8-12. SUNG YÜN 宋雲, HUI SHÈNG 惠生, P'EI CHÜ 裴矩, WEI CHIEH 韋節 and TU HSING-MAN 杜行滿.—Sung Yün and Hui Shêng were two pilgrims sent from Loyang by the Empress Hu 胡太后 in 518 to Hsi Yü 西域 (Tibet). P'ei Chü after travelling overland abroad wrote a book of Travels called *Hsi Yü T'u Chi* 西域圖記. Wei Chieh and Tu Hsing-man served as envoys of Yang Ti of the Sui dynasty to the kingdom of Kashmir. Wei recorded his observations in a book known as *Hsi Fan Chi* 西蕃記, now lost.

13. HSÜAN CHUANG 玄奘 (602-664).—In 629, that is, one year after the arrival of Muhamed's envoys at Canton, Hsüan Chuang, a learned and devout priest, started out from Ch'ang-an, the capital of the T'angs under the great T'ai Tsung, who was called by Gibbon the Augustus of the East. Because foreign travel was then forbidden, Hsüan Chuang had to be cautious, but with the help of friends was able at last to leave his native land. He was away fourteen years and returned the same way that he left, in 645, when, after declining official posts, he devoted his remaining years to the writing of his famous classic *Ta T'ang Hsi Yü-chi* 大唐西域記 or Memoirs of Western Lands.

Hsüan Chuang's journey was an enormous one. He went and came back by way of the Pamirs. He took the northern route, crossing the desert of Gobi, passing along the southern slopes of the T'ien Shan, skirting the great deep blue lake of Issik Kul, and so to Tashkend and Samarkand, and then more or less in the footsteps of Alexander the Great southward to the Khyber Pass and Peshawar. He returned by the southern route, crossing the Pamirs from Afghanistan to Kashgar, and so along the line of retreat the Yueh-chi had followed in the reverse direction seven centuries before, and by Yarkand, along the slopes of the K'uen Lun to rejoin his former route near the desert end of the Great Wall. Each route involved some hard mountaineering. His journeyings in

India are now untraceable; he was there fourteen years, and he traversed the peninsula from Nepal to Ceylon. Among other things, he shows us the Turks in possession not only of what is now Turkestan, but all territory along the northern route. He mentions many cities and considerable cultivation. He is entertained by various rulers, allies or more or less nominal tributaries to China, and among others by the Khan of the Turks, a magnificent person in green satin, with his long hair tied with silk. The gold embroidery of his grand tent shone with a dazzling splendour; the ministers of the presence in attendance sat on mats in long rows on either side, all dressed in magnificent brocade robes, while the rest of the retinue on duty stood behind. After a short interval the envoys from China and Kao-ch'ang were admitted and presented their despatches and credentials, which the Khan perused. He was much elated, and caused the envoys to be seated; then he ordered wine and music for himself and then a grape-syrup for the pilgrims. Hereupon all pledged each other, and the filling and draining of the winecups made a din and bustle, while the mingled music of various instruments rose loud; although the airs were the popular strains of foreigners, yet they pleased the senses and exhilarated the mental faculties. After a little interval, piles of roasted beef and mutton were served for the others, and lawful food, such as cakes, milk, candy, honey, and grapes, for the pilgrims. After the entertainment, grape-syrup was again served and the Khan invited Hsüan Chuang to improve the occasion, whereupon the pilgrim expounded the doctrines of the Ten Virtues, compassion for animal life, and the paramitas and emanicipation. The Khan, raising his hands, bowed, and gladly believed and accepted the teaching.

Hsüan Chuang's account of Samarkand is of a large and prosperous city, "a great commercial entrepôt, the country about it very fertile, abounding in trees and flowers and yielding many fine horses. Its inhabitants were skilful craftsmen, smart and energetic." At that time we must remember there was hardly such a thing as a town in Anglo-Saxon England.

Hsüan Chuang brought back: (a) 115 grains of relics taken from Buddha's Chair; (b) one gold statue of Buddha, 3 ft. 3 in. in height, with a transparent pedestal; (c) another statue, 3 ft. 5 in. in height; (d) others of silver and in carved sandal-wood; (e) 124 sutras of the "Great Development," altogether 657 total works carried

on 22 horses. Hsüan Chuang went to Ch'ang-an 長安 to translate, assisted by 12 monks, while nine others were engaged in revision.

That Hsüan Chuang was a strong literalist as well as an accurate translator was proved by the fact that he did the 120 volumes entire, with all their wearisome reiteration of metaphysical paradoxes, as compared with the rather abbreviated translation of Kumarajiva, who omitted repetitions and superfluities. Hsüan Chuang lived 19 years after his return; he completed 740 works in 1,335 books.

14. WANG HSÜAN-TS'Ê 王玄奘 (A.D. 7th Century).—After the visit of Buddhist Hsüan Chuang 玄奘 to India, China was recognized as the world power by all the petty states of India. The king of Oudiyana 烏長國, the then leading state of North India, twice sent envoys together with valuable gifts. In 684, Emperor T'ai Tsung 太宗 appointed Wang Hsüan-ts'ê 王玄奘 as special envoy to Oudiyana with Chiang Shih-jen 蔣師仁 as assistant.

It happened that the king of Oudiyana having passed away, his kingdom had been usurped by one of his followers. The usurper did not recognize Wang as an envoy from China and temporarily succeeded in expelling him, the latter's horsemen being all killed. With a view to punishing the usurper, Wang hurried to Thibet and Nepal to ask for military help. One thousand soldiers were sent from Thibet and seven thousand cavalry from Nepal. As a result the usurper was captured together with members of his family. This was the first and only war between India and China. In 657, Hsüan-ts'ê was sent again to India on a Buddhistic mission. He returned in 661. It is no exaggeration to say that Wang Hsüan-ts'ê was the most important figure in the old diplomatic relations between India and China.

15. I CHING 義淨 (A.D. 7th Century).—After Hsüan Chuang's death, exploration of the west became the fashion during the T'ang era, and another priest, I Ching by name, undertook a trip by the sea route to India. I Ching was born at Fanyang (Chihli), started from Fan-yü 番禺 (Canton) in 671 in a merchant vessel and after a stormy voyage reached Bhoga at the mouth of the Ganges. He stayed over 20 years in India (671-695), studying every available aspect of Buddhism, and brought back some 400 texts, the slokas alone numbering 500,000, as well as a plan of the Diamond Seat of the sage.

16. WU K'UNG 悟空 (A.D. 8th Century).—Wu Kung was the last pilgrim to travel abroad in the T'ang dynasty. His original name was Chü Ch'ao-fêng 車朝奉. In A.D. 751 he was appointed an attaché of the envoy to Kapica (India). He journeyed through Chighnan and Wakhan. After passing Oudiyana, he reached Gandhara, the then Eastern Capital of Kapica. Owing to his illness he failed to return with the envoy and became a monk in one of the monasteries in Gandhara. After a long stay at Kashmir, he returned to Ch'ang-an in 790.

17. CHANG K'UANG-YEH 張匡鄴 (A.D. 10th Century).—In 938, during the epoch of the Five Dynasties, Chang K'uang-yeh was appointed envoy to Yü-t'ien 于闐 (Khotan) by Prince Kao Tsu of the Posterior Tsin 晉高祖. Starting from Ling-chou 靈州 he arrived at his destination after a long journey of two years. He stayed abroad for two years and returned to China in 942.

18. CHI YEH 繼業 (A.D. 10th Century).—In 964-966 T'ai Tsu of the Sung dynasty dispatched 300 monks to India for the purpose of seeking Buddhistic scriptures. Of these Chi Yeh was the best known. His surname was Wang 王. He started from Wutu 武都 district of Kansu and journeyed to Kashmir and Gandhara, after which he reached Jalanda. Then he visited Benares, travelled along the Ganges, whence he proceeded southwards and stayed at Han-ssü 漢寺, one of the many monasteries specially provided for Chinese. Here he remained for several years until 976, when he returned to China.

19. WANG YEN-TEH 王延德 (A.D. 10th Century).—In 981 Wang Yen-teh was appointed envoy to Kao-ch'ang 高昌 the Yakoto of to-day. He started from the Hsia district of Shansi and travelled through Luk-chen 魯克沁. On reaching Kao-ch'ang he discovered a large number of monasteries already established. One of these was in charge of a Persian monk. On hearing that the ruler was at Pechibali 北庭, a summer resort, he proceeded thither. Wang was a celebrated diplomat of the Sung dynasty.

20. CH'IU CH'ANG-CH'UN 邱長春 (A.D. 1208-1288).—Born at Têngchow 登州 in Shantung, when a boy he was fond of study. At the age of 19 he studied Taoist books and became a priest under the name of Ch'ang-ch'un Tzū 長春子. He was the favourite pupil of Abbot Wang at Ninghai. He was sent for by Jenghis Khan who ordered his personal Minister Liu Wên wearing a golden tablet in the form of a tiger's head around his

neck, to summon him. On this was written the message: "This man is empowered to act with the same freedom as I myself would exercise, should I come in person."

Ch'ang-ch'un undertook the long journey and eventually reached Samarkand in December, 1221. Early next spring, on May 11, when the almond trees began to bloom, his party of twenty reached the great Khan's camp, who greeted him thus: "Other rulers summoned you, but you would not go to them. And now you have come ten thousand *li* to see me. I take this as a high compliment." Ch'ang-ch'un replied: "That I, a hermit of the mountains, should come at your Majesty's bidding was the will of Heaven." Jenghis was delighted, begged him to be seated and ordered food to be served. Then he asked him: "Adept, what medicine of Long Life have you brought me from afar?" The priest replied: "I have means of protecting life, but no elixir that will prolong it." The Emperor was pleased with his candour, and had two tents for the visitors put up to the east of his own.

After Jenghis Khan's death Ch'ang-ch'un served Kublai Khan, the first Yüan Emperor of China. He wrote a famous book of travels called *Hsi Yu Chi* 西遊記 or Annals of Western Travels.

Two works have tended to be confused with the present book.

(a) The *Hsi Yü Chi* 西域記, describing the pilgrimage to India of the great Buddhist traveller Hsüan Chuang (seventh century).

(b) The *Hsi Yu Chi* 西遊記 of Wu Ch'êng-ên (end of the sixteenth century), a fantastic novel which is to some extent a parody of the *Hsi Yü Chi* of Hsüan-chuang. For a long time this novel was supposed to be the work of Ch'ang-ch'un, a mistake only possible because both books possessed the same name and till the nineteenth century very little was known either about Ch'ang-ch'un himself or about the book in which his travels are described.

21. JENGHIS KHAN 成吉思汗 (1162-1227).—This mighty warrior, without education or influence, fought his way up as a Mongol chieftain, became a world conqueror and left his name behind as perhaps the greatest militarist who has ever lived, surpassing even the mighty Napoleon at his height. As a boy, Temuchin (as Jenghis was then called) had had visions of leadership and conquest, and when the opportunity came, he seized

it with both hands, raised immense armies both among his Mongolian hordes and the numberless tribes that he conquered, struck quickly and successfully, and ultimately became the Great Khan of immense territories ranging from China across huge Siberia, Northern India, Bokhara to the borders of the Caspian Sea, and Mid-Europe as far as Hungary. Well might Jenghis Khan be spoken of as the Mighty Manslayer, the Scourge of God, the Perfect Warrior, and the Master of Throne and Crowns, names given him at various times. A nomad, a hunter and herder of beasts, he outgeneralled the powers of three empires; though a barbarian who had never before seen a city nor known the use of writing, yet he was loved by his adherents from the learned Chinese Minister Liu to his fiercest general, and they served him faithfully until he died in the saddle, in 1227 at the age of 65. No empire of such magnitude stretching over contiguous territory has been known before or since.

22. KUBLAI KHAN (SHIH TSU) 元世祖 (1215-1394). —Kublai Khan, the first acclaimed emperor of the Yüan dynasty, was one of the three grandsons of Jenghis by his fourth son Tule. Kublai and his other two brothers Mangu and Hulagu were all experienced generals; he was given China to subdue, while Mangu had charge of Europe and Hulagu of Persia and Mesopotamia.

From the first, Kublai devoted himself to winning over his Chinese subjects, employed scholars and men of culture, and encouraged the study both of Confucianism and Buddhism. Though a relentless warrior in his younger days, riding hither and thither under forced marches with his invincible troops, he now settled down to days of leisure in a Chinese atmosphere. He transferred his Court from Karakorum to Khanbalig or Cambulac (city of the Khan), as Peking was called in those days, built palaces, became a patron of arts and letters and invited foreign envoys to his country. Hence it was during Kublai's reign in 1264, that Peking offered hospitality to the first Europeans, and these happened to be two Italians, named Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, who received a warm welcome. Encouraged by this reception, Nicolo on his next visit in 1275 brought his son, Marco, who later through his writings was the means of acquainting a sceptical West with the extraordinary treasures and highly developed civilisation of Cathay. Kublai's reign was a most successful one, for he was ruler of practically all Asia and the West as far as Scind,

Syria and Hungary and also on cordial relations with most foreign countries. Three interesting events occurred during his reign, having a bearing on our subject, namely:

(a) *Wars with Japan*.—The cause of these wars was Kublai's mad desire to receive tribute from Japan. The king of Korea was his son-in-law, and through him Kublai demanded that the Islanders should acknowledge him as overlord. To his dismay he found them as stubborn as he himself was haughty, for they notified him of their unwillingness to comply by the murder of his envoys. In 1274 an armada of 900 vessels conveying 15,000 Korean and 25,000 Tartar soldiers under Hu Tu 忽都 and Hung Ch'a-ch'iu 洪茶邱 was defeated at Tsushima 對馬, but this failure only served to stimulate Kublai to greater efforts some seven years later. By 1280 he was in possession of South China, and at the ports of Fukien, rich in timber, ship-building was pushed on with great energy, while recruiting agencies were established throughout the empire. In 1281 a fleet of 4,500 ships, manned by Mongols, Chinese and Koreans under Ou Lou-han 阿樓罕 and Fan Wên-hu 范文虎 sailed proudly in the direction of Hakata. But the resistance offered by the Japanese was so strong that for two months every attempt at landing was frustrated. While cruising fruitlessly in the vicinity of Hichiku, the fleet encountered a severe storm which sent the majority of the ships to the bottom of the sea, leaving a few of the survivors to go home and tell the sad story. Further attempts at revenge were given up because of the unpopularity of the enterprise.

(b) *Expedition Against Champa*.—This also came about through Kublai's demand for tribute. Champa was in that part of the peninsula now called Cochin-China. To invade it necessitated the passage of a Mongol army through Annam, nominally a vassal state of China; but his plan was fiercely contested. The tropical heat proved more deadly than any weapons of the enemy. Stricken down by dysentery and malaria, they soon found it necessary to retire, and it was at this juncture that they were fallen upon by the hidden foe with great slaughter.

(c) *The Great Commercial Routes*.—In spite of these disasters, the Mongols reached the sea. They had three routes by which they communicated with Europe; the two land routes through Nan Lou (southern) and Pei Lou (northern), and the maritime one. The last had been the route of the Chinese and the Arabs, and lay along the vast coast line extending from ports in Chekiang and

Fukien to Genoa and Florence. Trade was either carried on through the land routes to Karakorum and Peking, or by sea through the ports of Amoy, Canton, Foochow and Hangchow. While the accidents of war, diplomacy, and other circumstances brought men in all walks of life from the outside world to China through these routes, the Chinese also found their way into lands far from home. It is stated that about this time Chinese engineers were employed on the banks of the Tigris, and Chinese astrologers and physicians could be consulted at Tabriz.

23. BRIDE OF ILKHAN ARGON (A.D. 13th Century).—This was a Mongolian princess, who was chosen as bride when seventeen years old to proceed to Persia to be married to Argon, the Ilkhan (Governor) of Persia. Argon was the grandson of Hulagu, grandson of Jenghis and the first Ilkhan of Persia. It happened that the Polos after twenty years' continued stay in China were anxious to return to Italy and so were invited to accompany the bridal mission by sea. The party sailed from Wenchow in 1291, stayed several months in Sumatra and South India on the way, and by the time they reached Persia, the old Ilkhan had passed away. So the princess married the son, his successor, in 1293.

24. CHANG TEH-HUI 張德輝 (A.D. 13th Century).—Chang Teh-hui was a learned scholar who left Ting-chow 定州 in 1247 for Karakorum at the invitation of the Khan Kuyuk. He stopped over at Peking, Nankow and Dalainor on his way.

25. CHOU TA-KUAN 周達觀 (A.D. 13th Century).—Since the wonderful ruins of Angkor in ancient Cambodia were excavated by the French authorities, there have been ceaseless attempts to trace their history. Fortunately, through the efforts of M. Pelliot, certain memoirs of a Chinese contemporary named Chou Ta-kuan have been discovered and translated into French. Chou Ta-kuan was not a regular official though attached to the Chinese embassy sent by the Yüan emperor in 1296 to visit the king of Cambodia. In other words, Chou acted in the capacity of unofficial chronicler. Nevertheless, his *Memoirs on the Customs of Cambodia* (*Chên La Fêng T'u-chi* 真臘風土記) have been the principal means in revealing the state of civilisation existing in that region during the 13th century. Chou was a keen observer. His book contains thirty-three chapters of useful observation ranging from descriptions of the city walls, style of houses, dress, ceremonies, sickness, burial rites, law enforcement,

etc., to commerce, flora, fauna, wines, baths and the manner of living among both princes and the populace. The writer mentions that the city wall was 20 *li* around and 20 feet high, had five gates, with a golden pagoda in the middle and a copper one behind. The king's palace was built of solid carved granite and was most imposing, rising to great heights of architectural splendour. The weather being ever warm, the inhabitants dressed simply in a one-piece wrap of cloth. The princes lived a life of ease, went out freely with a huge retinue, wore plenty of jewellery and painted the palms of their hands red like the women. Leprosy was prevalent but not regarded with awe, for the sufferers mixed freely with healthy persons and one king actually suffered from the disease. The mission left Wenchow by boat in the second month of 1296, reached Champa in the third month, but Cambodia only in the seventh month because of storms. Here the embassy stayed for eleven months and returned to Ningpo in the 8th month of the following year.

26. CHÈNG HO 鄭和 (A.D. 15th Century).—Chêng Ho—native of Yünnan and popularly known as San Pao T'ai-chien 三保太監—was a famous eunuch sent by the Emperor Yung Lo on an extended mission to the "Western Ocean" to overcome his nephew, the second Ming, whom he had dethroned in 1402.

Conscious of his position as a usurper and fearing that his nephew might have escaped abroad, Yung Lo sought to establish himself in the eyes both of his own subjects and of foreigners by a forceful naval diplomacy, which was at the same time materially profitable. He sent out a series of powerfully armed expeditions with Chêng Ho in command to visit the various islands and littoral states of the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean, present gifts at their courts and persuade them to send embassies with tribute to China in return. The following extract is from the Government Chronicle of those days:

"His Majesty, under the suspicion that the ex-Emperor Chien Wen might have fled to countries beyond the sea, commissioned Chêng Ho, Wang King-ho, and others, to pursue his traces. Bearing vast amounts of gold and other valuables, and with a force of more than 37,000 soldiers under their command, they built great ships—sixty-two in number—and set sail from Liu Chia Chiang (Liu-ho), in the department of Soochow, whence they proceeded, by way of Fukien to Chên Ch'êng, and

thence on voyages throughout the western seas. Here they made known the manifestoes of the Son of Heaven, and spread abroad the knowledge of his majesty and goodness. They bestowed gifts upon the kings and rulers, and those who refused submission they overawed by force. Every country became obedient to the Imperial commands; and when Chêng Ho turned homewards, they sent envoys in his train to offer tribute. The Emperor was greatly pleased, and after a short interval commanded Chêng Ho to go once more and distribute gifts among the different States. The number of those who presented themselves before the throne grew ever greater. Chêng Ho was commissioned on no less than seven embassies, and thrice he was made prisoner by foreign chiefs. His exploits were such as no eunuch before him, from the days of old, had equalled. At the same time, the different peoples, attracted by the profit of Chinese merchandise enlarged their mutual intercourse for purposes of trade, and there was uninterrupted exchange of commodities. Thus it came to pass that in those days there was the saying of 'The eunuch San-pao who went down to the West,' and all who, in after times, were sent as bearers of commissions to the countries by sea, were wont to impress the outer nations with Chêng Ho's name. Yet, as regards China, the treasure that was lavished on these undertakings brought no profit in return; whilst of the soldiers of the expeditions, many perished by shipwreck or were cast away in distant lands, so that the number who returned, after nearly a score of years had elapsed, was not more than one or two in ten."

These expeditions were primarily pacific in intention, but they carried strong detachments of troops who were available to punish insult or treachery towards the envoys. In Sumatra and Ceylon some hard fighting had to be done by the Chinese armada. In Ceylon King Wijayabahu VI had maltreated a Chinese mission bringing offerings to the Shrine of the Tooth of Buddha at Kandy; in 1410 the Chinese deposed him by force and intrigue, and carried him a captive to China. His successor, invested as a vassal of the Ming, paid regular tribute to China until 1459. To the west of Ceylon the Chinese ambassadorial fleets paid calls as far as East Africa; among the places they visited were Cochin, Quilon, Calicut, Ormuz, Aden and Magadoxo. Both Aden and Magadoxo sent embassies to the Chinese court in 1427.

When Ceylon after 1459 discontinued the payment of tribute, no effort was made to reassert Chinese supremacy; the energy of an earlier generation had dwindled and the attention of the Chinese government was otherwise engaged. The rise of the Kalmuk power in Central Asia and the renewal of the nomad menace on the northern frontiers had diverted the thought of Chinese statesmanship from remote sea avenues; the Ming capital had been transferred in 1421 from Nanking to Peking, and maritime affairs came to be more and more neglected, the eye of state turning foremost to Mongolia and Manchuria. Yung Lo's forward policy in the Indian Ocean was abandoned, and, lacking official support and encouragement, Chinese private traders also beat a retreat; by the second half of the fifteenth century they had practically ceased to sail west of the Straits of Malacca.

27. CH'ÏEN LUNG 乾隆 (and HSIANG FEI 香妃) (1712-1798).—Ch'ien Lung, fourth son of Yung Chêng, ascended the Manchu throne in 1735 and reigned for 60 years. Unlike most emperors he was a great traveller, and numberless stories have been handed down regarding his exploits. Some writers go so far as to say that Ch'ien Lung was really the son of Minister Ch'ên, favourite counsellor of the previous emperor, and was surreptitiously exchanged at birth for the baby daughter of Yung Chêng's consort. This might account for Ch'ien Lung's unusual love for art and literature as well as his remarkable penmanship. It might also explain his extensive visits to Hangchow and other southern cities closely associated with the Ch'ên household. During his reign, large tracts of the north-west (including Mongolia), Thibet, Nepal, Burmah and Cochin were added to the Chinese Empire. Ch'ien Lung also directed a military campaign against Sungaria (Eastern Turkestan) during which the Mahomedan prince was slain and his beautiful wife captured and brought to Peking to serve as Imperial concubine. But this "fragrant princess" (Hsiang-fei 香妃) would not consent and for years lingered in the Forbidden Palace with a dagger hidden in her bosom ready to kill the emperor and then herself should the former force his attentions upon her. Ch'ien Lung was madly in love with her, granted her all sorts of privileges and erected a special mosque on the other side of the avenue facing the southern tower, so that she might see her people and even worship with them according to Mahomedan rites. After all attempts failed, the aged

mother of the emperor summoned the obstinate princess and demanded to know what her intentions were. "I would rather kill myself than forget my dead lord's memory and give in to your son," said the young widow. "In that case, take this cord and carry out your intentions quickly," ordered the dowager. So she died. When Ch'ien Lung heard of the incident, he wept long and earnestly, and conferred the posthumous title of "Senior Concubine" upon Hsiang Fei.

28. HUANG K'UAN (WONG FUN) 黄宽 (1828-78).—The first Chinese to obtain a medical degree from any European or American college, Wong Fun was one of three Cantonese (the other two being Yung Wing and Wong Shing) who accompanied an American missionary, Mr. R. S. Brown, in 1844 to America for study. While his companions remained in America, Wong Fun proceeded to Scotland and finally took his medical degree in 1853 at Edinburgh University. He returned to Hongkong and practised successfully there as well as in Canton, Swatow and Shanghai. He was also the first Chinese medical officer of the Customs, and in the capacity of a surgeon earned a considerable fortune. He never married.

29. LI HUNG-CHANG 李鴻章 (1822-1901).—Learned Hanlin scholar, born in Anhui, through his association with Marquis Tsêng Kuo-fan in the suppression of the Taiping rebels (1851-65), he rose step by step in office until he became Viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, and later of Chihli. When the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1894, Viceroy Li was appointed commander-in-chief of the Chinese army and navy. The war ended in the victory of Japan. Li was then sent as envoy to Japan to sign a treaty of peace. While there he was shot by a Japanese lunatic, but was mercifully saved. In 1896, Li was commissioned to travel to European countries and introduce reforms for the improvement of China. Both he and his staff learnt much from their world tour, during which they met most of the notabilities of the time such as Bismarck, Salisbury, Gladstone, Edison, Maxim, Witte, etc. Viceroy Li was also the founder of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company and of the first modern government medical college in Tientsin.

30. YUNG WING MISSION 容闳 (1872-1876).—Yung Wing was one of the first three Chinese young men who accompanied Rev. R. S. Brown to America for study. On his return in 1855 after graduation at Yale, he worked

energetically for the dispatch of more students to that country. It was not until 1871 that the Imperial government sanctioned an appropriation of one and a half million dollars for the modern training of 120 young Chinese in various American institutions. This was known as the Yung Wing Mission. Unfortunately, when Yung Wing was promoted as associate Minister to Washington, and another official—a strong conservative—became educational commissioner, the latter recommended the suspension of the Mission because the young students appeared to him to have become denationalised and thus a danger to the empire. No more students were sent after 1876, but quite a number of those who returned occupied high official positions afterwards, such as, Liang Tun-yen, Sir Chêntung Liang Chêng, Sir Shousen Chou, Liang Munting, Admirals Wu Ying-chi and Ts'ai T'ing-kan, Jeme Tien-yu, etc.

31. K'ANG YU-WEI 康有爲 (1856-1928).—This noted reformer was adviser of Emperor Kuang Hsü during the years 1897-98, when the then youthful emperor tried to save his empire from disruption by adopting fundamental reforms in education and government after the shameful defeat of big China by tiny Japan in the war of 1894-95. The empress dowager Tz'ü Hsi, however, opposed their radicalism, effected a *coup d'état*, put the Emperor in prison, and executed as many of the Cantonese advisers as could be found. K'ang Yu-wei managed to escape on a British cruiser from Tientsin, and for years afterwards lived the life of an exile, visiting practically every country of the world to preach the doctrine of constitutional monarchy for the salvation of China. In 1911 the Manchu dynasty fell, but instead of a constitutional monarchy the people declared for a republic. K'ang was thenceforth left alone.

32. SUN WÊN (SUN YAT-SEN) 孫文 (1866-1925).—The Father of the Chinese Republic was born at the village of Tsuiheng between Canton and Macao. After spending his boyhood in Honolulu he proceeded to Hongkong and obtained a licentiate in medicine in 1892 at the Medical College there. From the beginning Dr. Sun was more interested in revolution than in medicine, and spared no effort to achieve the downfall of the Manchus. After the abortive rising of 1896 in Canton, Dr. Sun went into hiding, but his name came prominently forward the following October, when it was announced that the Chinese Legation in London had kidnapped him and was

smuggling him back to China in a wooden case. Thanks to the timely intervention of the late Dr. James Cantlie and Lord Salisbury, Dr. Sun was released. He travelled widely, forming secret revolutionary branches among Chinese communities everywhere. When the Manchus abdicated in 1911, Dr. Sun was elected first President of China, but the country has seldom enjoyed peace since then. Dr. Sun more than once barely escaped with his life during these frequent troubles. He died in Peip'ing in 1925, leaving the famous *San Min Chu-I* (Three Peoples Principles) for the guidance of New China.

33. CH'ENG PI-KUANG 程璧光 (1860-19p1).—Born in Canton he studied for the navy at the Foochow arsenal, and fought in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5, when his ship was sunk, and he was picked up from the sea. In 1896-98 Captain Ch'eng was in England helping to superintend the building of three cruisers for China. During the later days of the Manchus, he was promoted Admiral and Minister of Navy. It was at this time, 1909-10, that Admiral Ch'eng was ordered by the Throne to visit Mexico with his fleet and protect Chinese traders who had been maltreated in that country. The Mexican Government apologised and promised to behave better in future. For the first time in Chinese history a Chinese fleet steamed round the globe and showed itself to widely-scattered compatriots. When the Republic was proclaimed, Admiral Ch'eng was appointed governor of Kwangtung Province in 1920, but a few months afterwards he was shot by an assassin as he was stepping into a boat to cross the river. Admiral Ch'eng was a man of integrity and one of the finest products of western education.

34. CHIN YA-MEI (YAMEI KIN) 金亞梅 (1864-). —The first Chinese woman to have obtained a medical qualification from the west, she was the daughter of a Ningpo pastor and adopted by the Rev. and Mrs. McCartee, American missionaries in China. With them the Chinese girl travelled widely and stayed some years in Japan as well as in America. In the latter country she studied medicine at New York and finally graduated first on the list from the New York Women's College of Medicine and Surgery. She was much interested in histological work, her paper on "Photographical studies of histological sections" in the *New York Medical Journal* being the first scientific article ever published by a Chinese woman. Dr. Yamei Kin, now 70 years old, is still living in Peip'ing.

35. LIN WĒN-CH'ING (LIM BOON-KENG) 林文慶 (1869-).—Born of Amoy parents in Singapore, he is therefore an Overseas Chinese. He won the first government scholarship of his year in 1887 and was sent to Edinburgh University, where he was awarded high honours in medicine, as well as the degrees of M.B., C.M.

Invited by Prof. C. Roy to work in Cambridge, he undertook research work in that university, and in 1892 had the rare privilege of seeing his paper on "Protective Mechanism in *Ascaris Lumbricoides*" published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Society. Dr. Lin was adviser on Public Health in the first Cabinet of Dr. Sun Wēn in Nanking in 1912. Since 1911 he has been President of the University of Amoy.

In conclusion, a few words may be devoted to the tens of thousands of emigrants, who have in the past left the shores of China, mainly from Kwangtung and Fukien Provinces, to help other countries to colonise and thus consolidate their possessions. Their activities include the development of tin-mining and rubber cultivation in Malaya and Netherlands East Indies; the introduction of the sugar industry into the Philippines as far back as the Yüan era, into British West Indies and even Hawaii; the building of those immense railway trunk-lines across Canada and America; and the marked transformation of immense areas of arid territory in California, Australia and Mexico into fertile fruit orchards. Wherever Chinese have travelled and settled down, they and their descendants have brought with them the well-tried benefits of their ancient philosophy, culture and industry.

The Chinese language, like English, may perhaps claim to be the most widely used in the world. Now and then, as in the case of a certain family settled down in Trinidad, a genius has blossomed forth from humble emigrant stock to arouse the world with his fiery and eloquent pen and to challenge the wisdom of a placid community.

Chinese travellers have not lived in vain, and their achievements are written large on the face of the globe.

LIST OF EARLY CHINESE TRAVELLERS.

(Figures inside bracket:—span of life.
Ordinary figures:—years of activity.)

NAME		DATES	DYNASTY
1. Mêng Chiang	孟 姜	B.C. 500	Eastern Chou
2. Hsü Shih	徐 市	" 220-210	Ch'in
3. Chang Ch'ien	張 騫	" 138-127 (away)	Han
4. Wang Chao-chün	王 昭 君	" 48	"
5. Pan Ch'ao (and Kan Ying)	班 超 (甘 英)	A.D. (32-102)	"
6. Chu Shih-hsing	朱 士 行	" 87	"
7. Fa Hsien	法 顯	" 260	"
8. Sung Yün	宋 雲	" 399-414 (away)	Eastern Tsin
9. Hui Shêng	惠 生	" 518	Northern Wei
10. P'ei Chü	裴 矩	" 518	"
11. Wei Chieh	韋 節	" 605	Sui
12. Tu Hsing-man	杜 弼	" 605	"
13. Hsüan Chuang	玄 奘	" (602-664)	T'ang
		629-645 away	
14. Wang Hsüan-ts'ê	王 玄 奘	" 646-661	"
15. I Ching	義 淨	" 671-695	"
16. Wu K'ung	悟 空	" 751	"
17. Chang K'uang-yeh	張 匡 鄴	" 938-942	Post Tsin
18. Chi Yeh	繼 業	" 966-976	Sung
19. Wang Yen-teh	王 延 德	" 981-983	"
20. Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un (Ch'u-chi)	邱 處 機	" (1208-1288)	Southern Sung
21. Jenghis Khan	成 吉 思 汗 (太祖)	" (1162-1227)	Yüan
22. Kublai Khan (Shih Tsu)	忽 必 烈 汗 (世祖)	" (1215-1294)	"
23. Bride of Ilkhan Argon		" 1280	"
24. Chang Teh-hui	張 德 輝	" 1247	"
25. Chou Ta-kuan	周 達 觀	" 1296	"
26. Chêng Ho	鄭 和	" 1407-1427 (out 7 times)	Ming
27. Ch'ien Lung (and Hsiang-fei)	乾 隆 (香 妃)	" (1712-1798)	Ch'ing
28. Huang K'uan (Wang Fun)	黃 寬	" (1823-1878)	"
29. Li Hung-chang	李 鴻 章	" (1822-1901)	"
30. Yung Wing Mission	容 閔	" 1872-1876	"
31. K'ang Yu-wei	康 有 為	" (1856-1928)	"
32. Sun Wên	孫 文	" (1866-1925)	"
33. Ch'êng Pi-kuang	程 璧 光	" (1860-1921)	"
34. Yamei Kin	金 亞 海	" (1864-)	"
35. Lin Wên-ch'ing (Lim Boon-keng)	林 文 慶	" (1869-)	"

THE WORSHIP OF EARTH IN ANCIENT CHINA

By CARL WHITING BISHOP

I.

In order to reach any adequate comprehension of the real nature of Chinese religious concepts, we must view them in terms both of time and of space. For they have been neither uniform nor changeless, whether over successive periods, or in various regions, or among different classes of society. They have been subject, in other words, to the same evolutionary and historical processes which have been at work everywhere, moulding the beliefs and shaping the rituals of peoples the world over.

Nor is it enough to base investigations upon the evidence of the written word alone. The information afforded by the ancient Chinese texts, valuable as it is, must always be tested, interpreted, and augmented by such archaeological and ethnological data as are now available. Only so can we hope to reach a correct understanding of our subject.

II.

The Chinese civilization has been formed by the interaction, through long periods of time, of very diverse cultural elements, of heterogeneous origin. Of these, among the most important, and still exerting a profound influence upon the lives of the common people especially, was the ancient Neolithic religion of southeastern Asia.

This we can try to reconstruct in a measure, from the present-day beliefs of the more backward peoples inhabiting that area, from the archaeological evidence, from ancient notices, and from survivals among the Chinese masses. In general, it seems to have been animistic and orgiastic in character. There was universal

belief in spirits, ghosts, mythical monsters, and the efficacy of magic. Mountains, rivers, lakes, trees, rocks, and caves—thunder, tempest, rain, and rainbow—were objects of superstitious awe. There must have been, too, myths if not actual worship of various heavenly bodies. In connection with the growing of food-plants we have some reason to believe that there was a fertility cult,¹ with seasonal dances, mating festivals, human sacrifice, and possibly ritual cannibalism.² These ceremonies may not improbably have been connected, as so often elsewhere among Neolithic peasant populations, with a belief in Earth as the Great Mother, the source of all fertility and fecundity.

There was perhaps also a belief that the earth had once been joined to the sky. In the *Shu Ching* or "Book of History" there is embedded what appears to be a fragment of a very ancient cosmogonic myth, referring to the existence of such a connection between Sky and Earth.³ But that the Sky was regarded by the Neolithic Chinese as an "All-Father," a correlate to Earth, the Great Mother, is altogether uncertain and perhaps unlikely.

In Late Stone Age China, supernatural beings seem very often to have been regarded as feminine, and women played a prominent part in religious as in all institutional life. It is possible, indeed, that the entire social organization was based upon descent through mothers; for agnatic kinship and the worship of ancestors seem to have been quite unknown to the aboriginal Chinese.⁴

¹ Cf., e.g., Bernhard Karlgren: Some Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China. *Bull. Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, No. 2, Stockholm, 1930: pp. 1-54. Excavations of Chinese Neolithic sites [cf. editorial note following the asterisk below] have disclosed earthenware phallos.

² The condition of the human bones found in certain Neolithic deposits, both in Manchuria and in China Proper, indicates that the bodies had been mutilated and dismembered either at death or immediately after.

³ The *Shu Ching*, sect. *Chou Shu* or "Annals of the Chou Dynasty," bk. xxvii, 1(6). Cf. also Edouard Chavannes: *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, vol. I, Paris, 1895; pp. 20 *et seq.*, and p. 21, note 1. This myth is very widespread; it occurs also, for instance, in Polynesia and in Japan.

⁴ The patriarchal social organization with clan names and ancestor worship, although universal among the ancient Chinese nobility as far back as we can trace them, seems not to have been adopted by the masses until well toward the close of the last millenium B.C.

A word must be said here in regard to the nature of religious ideas during the Chinese Neolithic period. Excavations show that a general cultural continuum then extended over most of northern China. On the other hand, at any given site there have been found very few objects imported from a distance.⁵ This implies that settlements were in large degree isolated and self-sufficing. The world, for each little community, must have been bounded by its own physical and visible horizon. There could hardly, therefore, have been any conception of universal divinities, or any consciousness of kinship between the cults, however similar, of different groups. This particularism long persisted among the Chinese masses; indeed it does so still in very great measure.

Worship in ancient China was an act of compulsion rather than one of propitiation or expiation; that is, it was magical rather than truly religious. Even far down in the Chinese historical period we find the belief firmly held that so long as a given rite was carried out in exactly the correct form, the divinity invoked had no choice but to grant what was asked. The corollary to this idea was, of course, that failure to obtain the desired boon was sure evidence either of the violation of some *tabu* or of some mistake in the performance of the rite. Again, according to ancient Chinese ideas, just as elsewhere in primitive religious thought, Nature required to be assisted by man. Hence ceremonies were often meant to rejuvenate and revitalize the deity for whom they were carried out.

Many of these superstitious beliefs and magical practices, originating far back in prehistoric times, have survived down to our own day. They form the basic element in modern Taoism, the real and most intimate religion of the Chinese masses.⁶

III.

Upon this Late Stone Age religion of southeastern Asia, in northern China there came to be superposed another, in many respects of a fundamentally different character. This formed an integral element of a well developed Bronze Age culture-complex, which seems to

⁵ Among the few exceptions are cowry shells, obtainable only in distant tropical seas.

⁶ Cf., e.g., J. J. M. De Groot: *The Religious System of China*, vol. VI, Leyden, 1910; pp. 931 *et seq.* and *passim*.

have appeared in the valley of the Yellow River, rather abruptly, sometime during the first half of the second millennium B.C.⁷

To this cultural revolution, occurring several hundred years before the dawn of history, we must in all probability attribute the division of ancient Chinese society into two distinct classes, the noble and the simple.⁸ The former consisted of a caste of feudal lords—rulers, priests, landholders, fighters. The bulk of the population was composed of serfs who lived in villages and tilled the soil for their masters, and whose customs and religious ideas remained largely those of their Neolithic ancestors.⁹

The distinction between these two social groups persisted far down into historical times. Nowhere was it more marked than in the sphere of religion. The nobles did not share their rites and ceremonies with the plebeians.¹⁰ They even seem to have tried to regulate and as far as possible to suppress the orgiastic features of the peasant cults, as likely to cause drunkenness, disorder, and social unrest.¹¹ Popular customs were thus in certain respects gradually modified; but in large part they managed to survive, and even to influence in some degree the *mores* of the nobility.

The aristocratic and patriarchal ruling class of Bronze Age China appears from the first to have practised

⁷ Cf., e.g., V. K. Ting: *How China acquired her Civilization*. Symposium of Chinese Culture, Shanghai, 1931; p. 3.

⁸ Cf. Henri Maspero: *La Chine Antique*, Paris, 1927: pp. 107 *et seq.*

⁹ Cf. V. K. Ting: *loc. cit.*, p. 4 *et seq.*

¹⁰ For example, the *Li Chi* or "Record of Rites," chap. I, *Ch'u Li*, i, 4 (50), states: "The rites do not descend to the masses": 禮不下庶人.

¹¹ Lascivious songs seem to have been a marked feature of the seasonal sex-rites of the ancient Chinese peasantry, as they are, indeed, of the similar festivals still held by the less modified aborigines of southern China. The Confucian "Analects," XV, x, 6, contain the following warning: "Banish the songs of Chêng . . . for they are licentious." Chêng 鄭 was a small state in central China, only founded about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., and where aboriginal influences long persisted.

In the *Li Chi*, chap. III, *Wang Chih*, iv, 16, it is said that all who compose such songs and thus disturb the minds of the multitude are to be put to death without fail. In the same book, chap. XI, *Yu Tsao*, i, 23, it is stated that the villagers (lit., "people of the wastes") always have fermented drink at their ceremonial feasts: 唯饗野人皆酒.

a cult of ancestors. This however it would be foreign to our purpose to discuss here. Their supreme divinity, in later times at least, was a Sky God. There was also a Sun God, thought of as riding in a chariot; he eventually became largely fused with the Sky God, but traces of the original distinction between the two long survived.¹² The moon was likewise worshipped; and there was a War God, to whom horses were sacrificed. In addition to these there were numerous lesser divinities and *numina*.

One of the manifestations of the Sky God was called Shang Ti, "The Lord Above,"¹³ or sometimes simply Ti, "Lord" or "Sovereign." Whether he originally had anything to do with the Sky is open to question. He may have begun as a totem, a vegetation-god, or a deified ancestor, whether actual or mythical. In earlier times at least, the title "Ti" was given, posthumously, to former rulers, while human attributes are constantly ascribed to Shang Ti in the ancient texts. Another form of the Sky God was called T'ien, or simply "The Sky."¹⁴ He may have begun by being a Sun God. He was, however, invested with human traits, and he was also an ancestral divinity. The knowledge of his connection with the visible vault of the heavens was never wholly lost, any more than were similar folk-recollections concerning Zeus and Jupiter.¹⁵ It was T'ien, moreover, and never Shang Ti, whose cult was associated with that of the Earth Mother.

T'ien, as the transparent simplicity of his appellation suggests, seems to have had on the whole a less developed personality than Shang Ti. His worship was conducted in the suburbs, but that of Shang Ti in one of the court

¹² Cf. the *Li Chi*, chap. IX, *Chiao T'ê Shêng*, ii, 2: "At the Chiao sacrifice [held in honour of T'ien in the south suburb at the winter solstice] people greet the return of the lengthening day and give thanks to T'ien [the Sky] and to the sovereign Sun;" 郊之祭也迎長日之至也大報天而主日也。

On the Chariot of the Sun, cf. B. Schindler: *The Development of the Chinese Conceptions of Supreme Beings*. The Hirth Anniversary Volume, London, 1923; p. 309 and note 3; cf. also Carl Hentze: *Les Jades Archaiques en Chine*. *Artibus Asiae*, 1930/1932, No. 1; pp. 86 *et seq.*

¹³ Shang Ti 上帝.

¹⁴ T'ien 天.

¹⁵ For instance, in such expressions as "Jupiter pluvius," "sub Jove frigido," and "εὐς ὕστ."

buildings, called the Bright Palace.¹⁶ The sacrifices offered to them were quite different, and there are many other indications that they were originally two distinct gods. Possibly they had once been the chief divinities of different peoples, clans, or social classes.¹⁷ With the lapse of time, however, they tended to become fused into one. In a somewhat similar way Zeus and Jupiter, originally quite distinct, came later to be identified with each other.

IV.

Chinese philosophy has from very early times been profoundly influenced by the notion of a dualism, the Yin-Yang concept. This, although it never developed the ethical content that characterized the dualism of the ancient Persians, was nevertheless believed to permeate all Nature. Under the Shangs, the first Chinese dynasty for whose existence we have any contemporary evidence,¹⁸ this system had perhaps not yet assumed quite that concrete and organized form which it bore in later times.¹⁹ Its rise was almost certainly connected with the notion of a Sky Father, T'ien, in apposition to an Earth Mother, Ti.²⁰ When and where this dual concept first arose, we do not know. But it is found already in existence and apparently quite well developed soon after the advent of the Chou Dynasty, late in the second millenium B.C.

One of the songs of the *Shih Ching* or "Book of Odes" addresses Hao T'ien, the Clear Sky, as "Father and Mother."²¹ This expression suggests that the idea of Earth as the Mother of All was not universally held among the nobility of the period. In the *Shu Ching*, on the other hand, the founder of the Chou Dynasty, when on his way

¹⁶ Ming T'ang 明堂.

¹⁷ Cf. Schindler, *loc. cit.*, pp. 342 *et seq.* and *passim*.

¹⁸ This is by no means to deny the existence of an antecedent Hsia Dynasty. For this, in spite of recent doubts, the literary evidence is very strong; but the question can only be settled through archaeological excavation.

¹⁹ Traces of the Yin-Yang concept in the Shang Dynasty inscriptions are few and far between; nevertheless they are said to occur; cf. L. C. Hopkins: *Pictographic Reconnaissances*, Part V, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1923; p. 383.

²⁰ Ti 地.

²¹ The *Shih Ching*, II, v, 4 (1): "Alas, alas, oh Clear Sky, called Father and Mother": 悠悠昊天曰父母且.

to smite his suzerain, the last ruler of the Shang, is represented as saying to his followers that "T'ien and Ti are of all living things the father and mother."²² Again, the *Li Chi* or "Record of Rites" tells us that "Ti sustains all living things, and T'ien holds suspended the constellations; material possessions come from Ti, and laws are received from T'ien; therefore men honour T'ien and love Ti."²³ This passage is of particular interest since it reveals so clearly the light in which the two correlated divinities were respectively regarded by the ancient Chinese. Quotations might easily be multiplied to illustrate how firmly the idea of a Sky Father, T'ien, and an Earth Mother, Ti, was entrenched in the beliefs of the ruling class during the Chou period.

Ti, unlike her masculine associate, seems to have been quite without anthropomorphic traits. The written character by which she is designated is composed of two parts. One of these is the usual symbol for "earth," *t'u*, and according to the *Shuo Wên* dictionary represents a sprout growing out of the soil.²⁴ In the more highly developed religions of the Occident the Mother Goddess is portrayed in human form, but with a vegetal shoot of some kind as an attribute. The second element of the character is explained by the *Shuo Wên* as depicting the Yin nature of woman. This statement is in line with others indicating that Ti, the Earth as producer and an object of official worship, was regarded as feminine. But another explanation of the meaning of the second element of the character has been propounded, to the effect that in its ancient form it represented a snake.²⁵ This view, if correct, is of decided interest; for in certain Western cults the serpent as well as the sprout was an attribute of the Earth Mother.²⁶

²² The *Shu Ching*, sect. *Chou Shu*, i, 1 (3): 惟天地萬物父母.

²³ The *Li Chi*, chap. IX, *Chiao T'ê Shêng*, i, 21.

²⁴ T'u 土. The *Shuo Wên* 說文, the first dictionary to arrange the characters according to their radicals or significs, seems to have been published early in the second century A. D. Cf. Paul Pelliot: *Les Bronzes de la Collection Eumorfopoulos publiées par M. W. P. Yetts* (I et II). *T'oung Pao*, 1930; p. 367.

²⁵ Cf. L. C. Hopkins: *Pictographic Reconnaissances*, Part IV, *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1922; pp. 72 et seq.

²⁶ Cf., e.g., Sir Arthur Evans: *The Earlier Religion of Greece in the Light of Cretan Discoveries*. London 1931; pp. 8 and 10; also Sir John Marshall: *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*. London, 1931; vol. I, p. 52 and pl. XII, 12.

In any case, Ti seems to have possessed a genuine personality. She was not merely the physical, material soil, indued with a magical creative function; she was rather the immanent, activating spirit of the earth—a true Earth Goddess, albeit at a far more rudimentary stage of development than such a concept, for example, as Demeter. Although she and her masculine associate, T'ien, were never thought of as dwelling together in some Far Eastern Olympus, nevertheless they formed in the state religion a couplet or Divine Pair, the father and mother of all living things.

As we have just seen, while T'ien bears a quite definitely anthropomorphic aspect, Ti is never so represented. This fact in itself suggests that the two concepts, of a Sky Father and an Earth Mother, represented two totally different traditions regarding the nature of supernatural beings. Hence it seems possible, at least, that what we have here is an instance of the god of one people becoming associated with the goddess of another. Such a process has by no means been unknown elsewhere in the history of religious development. We need only recall the "Sacred Marriage" celebrated in so many places during classical times between Zeus, the Sky God of the invading Greeks, and some goddess, usually an Earth Mother, of the earlier population.²⁷

In addition to the officially recognized and "orthodox" belief in Ti as the feminine associate of the masculine T'ien, there existed during the Chou period other notions. Thus the people of northeastern China seem to have worshipped, as one of a group of eight gods, a masculine being called Ti Chu, "Master of Earth."²⁸ This need not surprise us at all; for different parts of ancient China displayed well-marked local peculiarities, not only of language and custom but of religious ideas as well.²⁹

²⁷ Cf. Sir James Gordon Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., vol. II, pp. 120 *et seq.*, for examples.

²⁸ Ti Chu 地主.

²⁹ The statement in the *Shih Chi*, chap. xxviii, fol. 8-a, seems to read, "There are eight gods . . . The second is called Ti Chu and is worshipped at Liang-fu on T'ai Shan;" 八神 . . . 二曰地主祠泰山梁父.

Cf. regarding this passage Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Paris, 1898; p. 432, note 5. As there stated, the meaning is not altogether beyond dispute.

The edition of the *Shih Chi* from which I have taken my citations is that of the Chin Ling 金鑄 [i.e., Nanking] Book-shop, begun in the 5th year of T'ung Chih 同治 (1866) and completed in the 9th year of the same reign (1870).

V.

We may now turn to another aspect of the official worship of the earth in Chinese feudal times. Very frequently we find mentioned in the ancient texts a class of earth deities known as Shê. These, as far as our evidence goes, never had any genetic connection with Ti, the Earth Goddess. The latter, as we have seen, appears to have been feminine from the first; and by early historical times she was on the way to becoming, if indeed she was not already, a universal divinity. The Shê, on the other hand, were masculine, as shown, for instance, by the close association of their cults with those of ancestors.³⁰ They were, moreover, numerous and local, and formed a regular hierarchy; for every state, district, township, and manor had a Shê of its own. Hence though Ti and the Shê were equally earth divinities, the antithesis between them could hardly have been more complete.

The cult of the Shê reflected the darker and more cruel side of the religion of ancient China. Punishments were inflicted before them, military events were announced to them, troops were present at their worship, and the meat offered to them was presented raw. Nor are indications wanting that human victims were sometimes immolated in their honour, or perhaps to feed and revitalize them. In general, however, for this purpose animals were employed. The most common offering to the Shê appears to have been that of a bullock, a sheep, and a pig, the whole comprising what was called a T'ai Lao or "Grand Sacrifice."³¹ This suggests that the cult of the Shê, at least in its historical form, did not go back to the Neolithic era but belonged rather to the Bronze Age. For there is little evidence that until the latter period domestic cattle and sheep were known in China. The worship of the Shê, however, certainly antedated the Chou Dynasty; for in connection with the overthrow of

³⁰ Cf. Schindler, *loc. cit.*, p. 313; also Edouard Chavannes: *Le T'ai Shan. Ann. Musée Guimet*, Paris, 1910; p. 511.

³¹ The ancient Chinese sacrifice called the T'ai Lao 太牢, also known as the San Shêng 三牲, forms an interesting parallel to the Roman *suovetaurilia* and the Greek *τρίπαια*.

the preceding line of kings, the Shangs,³² we find mentioned their state Shê, known as the Po Shê.³³

The Shê were represented not by images but by earthen mounds, in which they were apparently believed to be immanent.³⁴ These mounds, it has been thought, once stood in sacred groves, which at a still earlier date were themselves the objects of the cult.³⁵ In historical times they seem to have been marked by a sacred tree and a pole. The latter, according to a recent investigator, represented a phallus and so symbolized the ancestral aspect of the cult.³⁶ The mounds were quite open to the air. For the Shê, as telluric deities, must remain exposed to atmospheric influences in order constantly to imbibe from them renewed vital force. Conversely, to deprive them of power, as at the conquest of a state, it was only necessary to enclose them with a roof and walls and thus shut off their access to sunlight and air. In one instance, at the overthrow of the Shang Dynasty, the mound representing its Shê, the Po Shê mentioned above, is said to have been enclosed in a building with but one opening, toward the north, so that only evil and debilitating influences might reach it.³⁷

Nevertheless we find, many centuries after the fall of the Shangs, that mounds representing their state Shê were still being maintained in more than one of the ancient Chinese feudal states. These mounds, later editors and commentators piously tell us, were merely memorials, erected in obedience to royal mandate. The idea, according to them, was that the various feudal princes might thus have constantly before their eyes a reminder of the

³² This dynasty, called at first the Shang, was known as the Yin during the latter part of its existence; but I have retained the former appellation throughout as more familiar to Occidental readers.

³³ Po Shê is usually written 亳社, alternatively as 薄社.

³⁴ These mounds are sometimes referred to as "altars," but this is scarcely accurate, for they seem in some way to have been identified with the Shê themselves; moreover, offerings were placed before, not upon, them.

³⁵ Cf. Schindler, *loc. cit.*, p. 319, note 3.

³⁶ Cf. Karlgren, *loc. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁷ The *Li Chi*, chap. IX, *Chiao T'ê Shêng*, i, 20: "Hence at the overthrow of a state, its Shê was closed in, that it might not receive strengthening atmospheric influences [lit., the Sky and the Yang]. The Po Shê [i.e., the Shê of the Shang Dynasty] had an opening left toward the north, in order that only debilitating influences [lit., Yin emanations] might reach it."

consequences of misconduct like that which caused the downfall of the Shang Dynasty. This is only an instance of the moralizing revisions to which the ancient texts have been subjected. That the Po Shê of the Shangs was actually worshipped, with sanguinary rites, long after the fall of the dynasty is quite certain. For example, we hear of captives of war being sacrificed to him at the capital of Lu, the native state of Confucius himself, in the sixth century B.C.³⁸

The cult of the Shê was essentially official and aristocratic. It formed part of the religion not of the plebeians but of the ruling class, into whose lives it entered in many ways. Thus when a new fief was established, the act was consummated by presenting the grantee with a clod of earth taken from the mound representing the suzerain's Shê—an interesting parallel to our own medieval feoffment by livery of seisin. The clod was incorporated in a mound erected at the capital of the new fief, the latter being in this way provided with a Shê of its own. Again, the expression meaning "to reign" was "to rule the Shê and the Chi," i.e., to conduct the state worship of the Gods of the Soil and of Grain.³⁹

It is interesting to note that when these divinities had received their due sacrifices, without any error in the performance of the rite, and nevertheless permitted flood or drought to come, then they might be changed.⁴⁰

VI.

We have already suggested that beliefs regarding a Mother Earth in China may well date far back into pre-historic times, to the scattered Neolithic planting communities whose former existence excavation has revealed. We have also seen something of the shape which the idea took on in connection with the formal state worship of feudal China. We must now investigate what appears to have been a more popular and less highly developed form of this same concept, of a Goddess of Earth.

³⁸ The *Tso Chuan*, X, x, 3: "Then for the first time human sacrifices were offered to the Po Shê [of Lu]"; 始州人於亳社.

³⁹ Chu Shê Chi 主社稷; *chi* means literally not grain in general but millet, and more specifically *Panicum miliaceum*.

⁴⁰ Mencius, Works, VII, ii, 14 (4).

In the written sources we often find used a title, Hou T'u.⁴¹ As a noun, *hou* means "ruler"; as a verb, it means "to rule." Hou T'u therefore signifies literally "One who rules the Earth."⁴² In this sense, without implication of sex, it might be applied to any being thought to exercise control over the fructifying forces of the soil. Thus in the *Tso Chuan* those who rule the Earth (*hou t'u*) are said to be the Shê.⁴³ The title might even be bestowed upon human functionaries. In a discourse said to have been held in 512 B.C., the speaker states that in ancient times there were five officials set aside in some peculiar sense to preside over the Five Elements; among these the Regulator of Earth is called Hou T'u.⁴⁴ Hence the true explanation of the apparent inconsistencies in the application of the title in the ancient texts seems to be the following. In its literal sense of "Ruler of the Earth" it was applied to various classes of beings; but most often it was bestowed upon Mother Earth, and in later times became restricted to her.

Hou T'u, as Goddess of Earth, does not emerge as a very definite concept. She is, however, never called simply "Earth," T'u, but always "Ruler of the Earth," Hou T'u. This implies a certain degree of personification. There is little or no evidence that during the Chinese feudal period Hou T'u was the object of a formal state cult. Her place in this respect, as we have seen, was taken by Ti, perhaps, indeed, the same divinity under her official form and designation. The worship of Hou T'u seems rather to have been an unorganized and popular one, carried on more especially by the peasantry. That it was apparently very widespread argues for its high antiquity.⁴⁵ It was conducted at the foot of a holy hill or mountain, at an earthen mound.⁴⁶ There is no sign that

⁴¹ Hou T'u 后土.

⁴² Cf. Karlgren, *loc. cit.*, p. 16.

⁴³ The *Tso Chuan*, X, xxix, 4: 后土爲社. Cf. Karlgren, *loc. cit.*, p. 11, note, and p. 15.

⁴⁴ The *Tso Chuan*, X, xxix, 4. The Five Elements were wood, fire, metal (bronze or perhaps copper), water, and earth. The five functionaries 五官 described in this passage look very much like official *tabu*-keepers. It was quite common in early societies, when the numerous *tabus* of all sorts were found too burdensome to be kept by everyone, to appoint individuals whose duty it was to observe them for the whole group.

⁴⁵ Cf. Berthold Laufer: *Jade. A Study in Chinese Archaeology and Religion*. Chicago, 1912; p. 144.

⁴⁶ Cf. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 433, note 4.

this was ever marked, like those of the Shê, by a sacred tree; it seems quite clearly to have been the mound itself which was the essential feature of the cult of Hou T'u. Offerings to her were disposed of by being buried whole—in other words, they were “consigned to the earth” in the most literal sense.⁴⁷ Hou T'u, like Ti, is not described as possessing human attributes. It has been shown that in many lands the divinity who rules the growing grain is regularly sacrificed to itself: and in the West it is often regarded as having equine form. Hence it is interesting to find that in some instances a black mare was regarded as an appropriate sacrifice to Hou T'u.⁴⁸ This can hardly, however, have been the case before her cult had begun to receive a certain amount of official recognition. For in the first place, the horse, at least as a domestic animal, seems to have been unknown in China prior to the Bronze Age; and secondly, throughout the Chinese feudal period that animal was peculiarly characteristic of the chariot-driving nobles but not at all of the peasantry.

We have already seen that the worship of the Shê, the local and official gods of the soil, was closely connected with that of the Chi, the gods of grain. Hou T'u, however, seems to have been regarded by her worshippers as herself the being who caused the earth to be fruitful and bring forth abundant harvests.

There was, it is true, a personage called Hou Chi, “Ruler of Millet,” a masculine concept. He is said to have been miraculously conceived by his mother, perhaps an agamic goddess in the original form of the myth, and he himself is quite obviously a vegetation-god. The story forms an interesting parallel to the beliefs in a Virgin Mother and Divine Son so widely current in antiquity in southwestern Asia. From Hou Chi the kings of the Chou Dynasty claimed descent; and they made him the official patron of agriculture throughout northern China.⁴⁹ There is little to show, however, that his cult was popularly associated with that of Hou T'u, “Goddess of Earth.”

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 476, note 2.

⁴⁸ Cf. Schindler, *loc. cit.*, p. 314 and note 1. This association of a black mare with the Earth Mother is curious and recalls to mind the Black Demeter with a mare's head, worshipped at Phigaleia in Arcadia. In Europe the spirit that rules the growing grain has often been regarded as having the form of a horse or mare; cf. Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 292 *et seq.*, for examples.

⁴⁹ Mencius, Works, III, i, 4 (8); cf. also Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 453 and note 1.

That it never had much if any hold on the masses is further indicated by the completeness with which his worship was superseded by that of Shên-nung, the later god of agriculture, not very long after the feudal era had come to an end.

The really historical period in China may be said to have begun around the middle of the ninth century B.C. By that time the Bronze Age had lasted there for something like a thousand years. During this long interval a vast amount of intermixture and blending, of religious ideas as of everything else, must inevitably have been going on.

Hence though Hou T'u may originally have been the plebeian concept of the Earth Mother, it is not strange that the nobles also should have come to feel a certain reverence for her. They seem, indeed, to have made little real distinction, save in ritual, between her and Ti, the official Goddess of Earth and correlate of T'ien, the Sky.

In the *Shu Ching* the future founder of the Chou Dynasty is represented as declaring the offences of the last Shang ruler before Huang T'ien and Hou T'u, "Supreme Heaven and the Goddess of Earth."⁵⁰ This passage, however, is the only one in the book to mention Hou T'u; and it may besides reflect the ideas of a later age. Hence little can be deduced from it regarding the conception of Hou T'u prevalent among the ruling classes at the beginning of the Chou period.

Another instance of the same association between these two divinities occurs in the *Tso Chuan* and refers to a time several centuries later. In 644 B.C., at the battle of the plains of Han, the prince of the state of Chin was defeated and taken prisoner by the earl of Ch'in, who wished to sacrifice him to Shang Ti. The officers of the captive prince thereupon humbly implored the victor to spare their master's life. In their plea they use the words, "Lord, thou standest upon Hou T'u and honourest Huang T'ien." Later on in the same account, however, it is not of these divinities but of T'ien and Ti and his fear of breaking his oath to them, that the earl of Ch'in speaks more than once.⁵¹ Hence the passage seems to show that Ti and Hou T'u were only different aspects of

⁵⁰ The *Shu Ching*, sect *Chou Shu*, iii, 2 (6): 底商之罪告于天后土.

⁵¹ The *Tso Chuan*, V. xv, 13.

the same concept, that of an Earth Goddess who, by the nobles at least, was correlated with the Sky God.

VII.

Toward the close of the Chou period the ancient feudal system of Bronze Age China gradually decayed, and the influence of the unprivileged classes steadily increased. As a result, the aristocratic state religion began to feel the competition of the popular cults.

These were coming more and more to be associated with the doctrines of Lao-tzū. For that philosopher voiced the resentment of the masses, and perhaps also of the Chou court circle,⁵² against the arrogance, tyranny, and bloodshed of the feudal princes. His views were essentially democratic, and denied the value of petty human distinctions and ambitions. Hence the very ancient but long submerged beliefs and practices of the lower classes tended naturally to crystallize about his teachings.

The death-blow to the feudal system was finally given by Ch'in. That semi-barbarous but very warlike western state, after a long struggle, succeeded late in the third century B.C. in establishing a centralized, bureaucratic Chinese Empire.⁵³ In the process, the state worships of the various feudal kingdoms were broken up, both through the deliberate policy of the conquerors and as a natural consequence of the overthrow of the territorial nobility. The beliefs and practices of the lower elements of society, on the other hand, received a steadily increasing amount of recognition. It is fairly certain, however, that the worship of Hou T'u was not accorded official status as yet. Such little evidence as there is points to her cult having been conducted locally, by sorceresses—village priestesses—on behalf of the peasantry.

The harsh and tyrannical rule of the Ch'ins came to a violent end after a very few years, through an outburst

⁵² Lao-tzū, the traditional date of whose birth was 604 B.C., is said to have held the post of Keeper of the Records at the Chou court.

⁵³ From this time on, the rulers of China may properly be called emperors; previously they had been priest-kings.

of popular fury almost unexampled in history.⁵⁴ Out of the ensuing welter of war and turmoil there arose, at the very end of the third century B.C., the Former or Western Han Dynasty. This, it is important to note, was the first Chinese ruling house to spring from the ranks of the common people.⁵⁵ Its founder was a native of eastern China, a region much more recently civilized than the basin of the Yellow River and where aboriginal beliefs were consequently still strong.

When the first Han emperor finally established his capital at Ch'ang-an, in what is now Shensi, the people who assembled there brought with them all kinds of tribal cults, local religions, and magical practices. With these, because of the lowly origin of their House, the early Han rulers were thoroughly in sympathy. Hence they were quite ready to worship mountains, rivers, sacred trees, the heavenly bodies, and various natural phenomena as well as mythical rulers and personifications of Heaven and Earth.⁵⁶ It also became a leading feature of the imperial policy to increase the prestige of the dynasty with the masses by receiving the more popular cults into the state religion, sometimes with the emperor himself as their high priest.⁵⁷

The chief supporters of this procedure were the Taoists. It would be wrong, however, to regard the Taoism of that time as the developed system which it became later. In reality it was as yet only the old, un-

⁵⁴ For some of the causes of this outburst, cf. the *Shih Chi*, chap. xxviii, fol. 10-a: "All the scholars and gentry hated the Ch'ins because they burnt the *Shih (Ching)* and the *Shu (Ching)* and sought out and slew learned men; the Hundred Clans [*i.e.*, the people as a whole] detested them because of their laws. All the empire rose against them;" 諸儒生疾秦焚詩書誅謬文學百姓怨其法天下畔之。

⁵⁵ Cf. Hu Shih: The Establishment of Confucianism as a State Religion during the Han Dynasty. *Journ. North China Br. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. LX, 1929; p. 23.

⁵⁶ Cf., e.g., the *Li Chi*, chap. XX, *Chi Fa*, 9, *ad fin.* For an instance of tree worship, cf. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 448, note 4, and p. 450.

⁵⁷ From the earliest recorded times down to the overthrow of the monarchy, Chinese rulers have been priests as well as administrators. In certain respects their functions resembled those of the Athenian archon basileus and the Roman pontifex maximus; for in addition to conducting the highest state sacrifices, they regulated the rites and the calendar, determined lucky and unlucky days, and the like.

organized body of belief of the Chinese masses, associated more or less closely with the teachings of the school of Lao-tzū.

Wên Ti, the fourth sovereign of the Han Dynasty (180-157 B.C.), was a well-intentioned but very superstitious prince, greatly under the influence of the Taoists. In 164 B.C. he was told by a certain Hsin-yüan P'ing,⁵⁸ a seer who professed to detect things hidden from ordinary eyes, that divine emanations were arising to the northeast of Ch'ang-an. The following year the charlatan declared that he saw, in the direction of the Fên Yin region,⁵⁹ in what is now southwestern Shansi, mysterious signs indicating the presence there of some precious object of metal. This, he claimed, must be one of the famous and sacrosanct Nine Tripods. These were believed to have been lost in the River Ssü, in eastern China, when the remnant of the Chous fled eastward before the Ch'ins in 256 B.C. One of these vessels, according to the seer, must have been carried by the overflow of the Yellow River then prevailing, several hundred miles westward (*i.e.*, upstream) to a point in the Fên Yin district. The emperor had a search made; but the sacred tripod was not forthcoming. Not long afterward Hsin-yüan P'ing was discredited, and was put to death with all his relatives to the third degree of kinship.⁶⁰ These statements, not very important in themselves, suggest nevertheless that the Fên Yin region was regarded, even in court circles, as in some peculiar sense a holy one.

The sixth and in some ways the greatest of the Han emperors, Wu Ti, a mere lad at his accession, had a long reign of over fifty years (140-87 B.C.). During its earlier half he paid no worship to Hou T'u. It was not until the year 113 B.C. that he decided upon offering a solemn sacrifice to her at the Shui Shan, a hill in the Fên Yin

⁵⁸ Hsin-yüan P'ing 新垣平; *cf.* Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 457.

⁵⁹ The Fên Yin 汾陰, the district to the south of the lower course of the Fên River, in southwestern Shansi 山西, had formed part of the territory of Wei 魏, one of the three succession-states into which the ancient kingdom of Chin 晉 split up in the fifth century B. C. The word *yin* as used here means land sloping downward toward the north, as that on the southern bank of a river or on the northern slope of a mountain.

⁶⁰ *Cf.* Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vols. II, p. 482, and III, p. 460.

region.⁶¹ Just why the emperor selected this particular spot, we are not told. But as we have seen, it appears to have been regarded as holy; and it seems to have been the seat of a popular cult of Hou T'u, conducted by local priestesses or witches and quite possibly of great antiquity. At all events the Fên Yin seems for some reason to have enjoyed a reputation for special sanctity. It was this fact, no doubt, that led the unfortunate Hsin-yüan P'ing, just fifty years before, to assert the presence there of one of the Nine Tripods. A more precise identification of the Shui Shan itself we shall discuss in a moment.

The emperor was quite naturally in some uncertainty as to the correct ritual to be observed in conducting the new state cult which he wished to establish. In deciding the question, the official sacrifices once offered by the Chou kings to T'ien and Ti seem to have been taken as a precedent; at least the account of the episode in the *Shih Chi* or "Record of History," by Ssü-ma Ch'ien, quotes from the description of these rites as given in the *Li Chi*.⁶² A great earthen mound, with five places for sacrifice, was constructed at the Shui Shan, almost certainly at its foot. The emperor repaired to the spot to conduct the ceremony in person, in order to give it all the solemnity possible. He and his coadjutors, clad in ceremonial robes of yellow, performed the requisite prostrations and offered prayers that the fields might bring forth abundantly, and bullocks, sheep, and swine were sacrificed and afterward buried whole.⁶³

During the summer of the same year, we are told, a sorceress of the Fên Yin region performed a sacrifice to Hou T'u for the people at the same spot.⁶⁴ The statement

⁶¹ Shui Shan 隄山, or sometimes Shui Ch'iu 隄丘. Regarding this matter, the *Shih Chi*, chap. xxviii, fol. 21-a, says that in the winter of 113 B.C. Han Wu Ti called a council and said, "We have now sacrificed in person to Shang Ti; but to Hou T'u we have not sacrificed. Hence the Rites have not been fully observed"; 今上帝朕親郊而后土無祀則禮不答也.

⁶² The *Li Chi*, chap. III, *Wang Chih*, iii, 10.

⁶³ The *Shih Chi*, chap. xxviii, fol. 21-a, states regarding this sacrifice, "At each altar shall be offered a yellow calf and an entire T'ai Lao (cf. note 31). After the sacrifices have been finished, they shall be collected and buried"; 壇一黃犢太牢已具祠盡瘞.

⁶⁴ For this incident cf. the *Shih Chi*, chap. xxviii, fol. 23-a (Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 482). These sorceresses (*wu* 巫; the word is sometimes used to include wizards also) were frequently priestesses of local cults. This class of women—mediums,

suggests several questions into which we cannot enter here; but in the course of the proceedings the celebrant discovered in the earth, apparently near the mound, a tripod of unusual type. Her find was reported to the emperor, whose courtiers assured him that it was a certain sign vouchsafed by Hou T'u herself that his sacrifice had been acceptable. Nevertheless he appears to have been somewhat puzzled. The abundant harvests for which he had besought Hou T'u had failed to materialize; why, therefore, had the auspicious tripod appeared?⁶⁵

VIII.

The traditional site of Han Wu Ti's worship of Hou T'u is a locality near the eastern bank of the Yellow River, a few miles below its confluence with the Fên, and ten *li* (a *li* is slightly over three miles) north of the little town of Yung Ho Hsien.⁶⁶ This identification has been generally accepted for well over a millenium at least. Nevertheless it may not be the correct one.

When the Later or Eastern Han Dynasty came into power, early in the Christian Era, it established its capital far to the eastward of Ch'ang-an, close to the present Lo-yang, in the province of Honan. Here it erected a new mound for its state worship of Hou T'u. The old mound, in the Fên Yin region, was abandoned, and as the centuries went by, its precise location may well have been forgotten.

The *Shih Chi* states that the Fên Yin Hou T'u Tz'ü,⁶⁷ or altar to Hou T'u in the Fên Yin, was near a hill, presumably at its foot. Unfortunately for the orthodox identification, the Yellow River in this part of its course flows through a plain, with no hills in the immediate vicinity; moreover it is subject to widespread overflows. Hence it seems unlikely that the altar erected by Han Wu Ti stood anywhere close to its banks.

There is, however, in the Fên Yin region a spot which seems to meet the requirements much better. The land thereabout is in general quite level, or at most gently

exorcists, witches, and healers—already existed during feudal times and undoubtedly very much earlier; it still flourishes among the ignorant masses.

⁶⁵ Cf. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 483.

⁶⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 476, note 3.

⁶⁷ Fên Yin Hou T'u Tz'ü 汾陰后土祠.

rolling. But immediately south of the present town of Wan Ch'üan Hsien,⁶⁸ several miles from both the Yellow and the Fên Rivers, there rises abruptly out of the plain a remarkable rocky hill, or rather a hilly massif, called to-day the Ku Shan, or "Lone Mountain."⁶⁹ Conspicuous for many miles in every direction and dominating the whole country roundabout, it must have fulfilled in antiquity every requirement of a Holy Mountain. Here if anywhere in the Fên Yin region we might expect the emperor to erect his altar.

Now at the southeastern foot of the Ku Shan is a locality—a sort of sheltered recess—whose *fêng-shui* or geomantic influences are even to-day thought to be particularly favourable. The presence of numerous temples suggests that the spot has been a religious centre probably from a very remote past. Precisely here excavations⁷⁰ have disclosed the existence of a site of some sort which the character of the finds shows conclusively was of the Western Han period. Without further investigation the question of its nature can not be regarded as settled beyond dispute. It seems possible, however, to say the least, that the Ku Shan of to-day is one and the same with the Shui Shan of two thousand years ago. If so, the site at its southeastern base may very well be that at which Han Wu Ti instituted his worship of Hou T'u, the Goddess of Earth.

⁶⁸ Wan Ch'üan Hsien 萬泉縣, "City of a Myriad Springs." Some very deep wells still exist in the neighborhood and may have given the town its name.

⁶⁹ Ku Shan 孤山.

⁷⁰ In the autumn of 1930 the Freer Gallery of Art of Washington, D. C., and the Shansi Provincial Library entered into an agreement for excavating the site believed to be that of the Fên Yin Hou T'u Tz'ü of the West Han Dynasty, in the district of Wan Ch'üan, in southwestern Shansi. The work was conducted by Messrs. K. Z. Tung, W. J. Chang and C. H. Wei, Mr. Carl Whiting Bishop, Associate Curator of the Freer Gallery only lending his authority for the operations. The report on the work has been published (Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai, 1932) in a limited number of copies; Mr. Bishop's valuable paper is here reproduced from the original report to meet the wider audience to which the *Journal* goes.—EDITOR.

LO-YANG AS THE NATIONAL CAPITAL.

By JOHN C. FERGUSON, Ph.D.

In chapter XIII of the *Shu Ching* (See Legge's *Chinese Classics*, III, p. 434) the report of Chou Kung concerning his survey of the Lo district is recorded. He states that on the morning of the I Mao day he arrived at the city of Lo. He performed the rites of divination concerning the site lying east of the Chien and west of the Ch'an rivers and discovered that a place near the Lo was propitious.¹ In the fifth year of the regency of Chou Kung, according to Chêng Hsüan in the *Shih P'u*, Ch'êng Wang, whose capital was at Fêng, built a residence on this lucky site while Shao Kung was ordered to make a survey of its surroundings and to carry on building operations at Lo-i in accordance with the plans of Wu Wang.² When the work was completed this new site was given the name of Wang Ch'êng, i.e., the kingly city. The "Chou Chi" chapter of the *Shih Chi* records that Wu Wang departed after completing his plans to establish a residence for the Chous at Lo-i.³⁻⁴ There is also a statement in the *Tso Chuan* confirming the *Shih Chi* record. It says that Wu Wang, after subjugating Shang, moved the Nine Tripods to Lo-i.⁵ The *Tso Chuan* further says, "Ch'êng Wang established his tripod at Chia Ju."⁶ This site was therefore known first as Lo-i, then as Chia Ju, a name which it took from the adjacent Chia Mountain to the northward, then as Wang Ch'êng⁷ and later as Tung Tu.⁸ Its site is contained in that of the present city of Lo-yang. It had the Lo river to the south, the Chien river to the west and the Ch'an river to the east. These two

¹ 予惟乙卯朝至于洛師。我卜河朔黎水。我乃卜澗水東。灋水西。惟洛食

² 鄭玄詩譜云。周公攝政五年。成王宅洛邑。使召公先相宅

³ 營周居于洛邑而後去

⁴ Chavannes in *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-Ma Ts'ien*, Vol. I, p. 243, translates this passage "Il traça le plan de la demeure des Tcheou à la ville de Lo et ensuite il s'en alla."

⁵ 武王克商遷九鼎于洛邑

⁶ 成王定鼎于郊廓

⁷ 王成

⁸ 東都

streams which had their source in the hills between the city and the Yellow River were small tributaries of the Lo.

The foregoing facts concerning the founding of this Kingly City may be briefly summarized. Chou Kung, a younger brother, greatly assisted Wu Wang in conserving the results of the successful campaign against the Shangs and in establishing the Chou dynasty on a solid foundation. He travelled extensively in the region of the Lo and I rivers for the purpose of discovering a propitious site as a residence for the new rulers and at last chose one situated north of the Lo and between two of its small tributaries, the Chien and the Ch'an. After making general plans for the building of a new city he left his kinsman Shao Kung to complete the work. The place was given the name of Wang Ch'êng and it became the Eastern Capital, the resting-place of the Nine Tripods which were the symbols of authority.

The paragraph above quoted from Chapter XIII of the *Shu Ching* further records that Chou Kung also divined concerning the country east of the Ch'an river and that again a site near the Lo was found to be propitious.⁹ This place was called Hsia Tu¹⁰ and was also known as Ch'êng Chou¹¹ in commemoration of the successful establishment of the rule of the Chous. It was to this city that Ch'êng Wang moved the stupid people of the defeated Shang Kingdom.¹² In the Han dynasty the name of this place was changed to Lo-yang. It was about thirty *li* east of Wang Ch'êng, the present city of Lo-yang, and is now known as Old Lo-yang—Lo Yang Ku Ch'êng.¹³

In 770 B.C. Wang Ch'êng was made the capital by P'ing Wang.¹⁴ The city was also called Tung Chou¹⁵ and the deserted capital in Shensi became Hsi Chou.¹⁶ Wang Ch'êng was used by succeeding rulers until the time of Ching Wang¹⁷ who in 516 B.C. removed across the Ch'an river to the city of Ch'êng Chou on account of the rebellion of Wang Tzu Ch'ao.¹⁸ Ch'êng Chou remained the capital until 314 B.C., the time of Nan Wang,¹⁹ who again moved back to Wang Ch'êng.

The fortunes of the Chou dynasty are connected more intimately with the district around Lo-yang than with that known as the Royal Domain, Tsung Chou,²⁰ in Shensi

⁹ 我又卜灋水東，亦惟洛食

¹⁰ 下都

¹¹ 成周

¹² 成周之邑既成，乃遷殷之頑民令居此邑

¹³ 洛陽故城

¹⁴ 平王

¹⁵ 東周

¹⁶ 西周

¹⁷ 敬王

¹⁸ 王子朝

¹⁹ 赧王

²⁰ 宗周

province of which Fêng²¹ and Hao²² (near modern Hsi-an) were the successive capitals. Indeed this Lo-yang district itself was also later given the name of Royal Domain and the influence of the earlier Domain dwindled into insignificance.

As the two cities Wang Ch'êng and Ch'êng Chou were situated on the Lo River with its many tributaries which were fed by the surrounding hills, there were constant floods. The *Shui Ching Chu*²³ records two great floods at Ch'êng Chou, one in the 28th year of Ching Wang and the other in the 5th year of Nan Wang. The *Kuo Yü*²⁴ records one at Wang Ch'êng, which took place in the 22nd year of Ling Wang²⁵ when the flood waters from the Ku²⁶ and Lo rivers "fought." According to the explanatory notes to the *Kuo Yü* by Wei Chao²⁷ the waters rushed past the west side of Wang Ch'êng and destroyed the southwestern part of the city. The river Chien was evidently in flood.

In the Ch'in dynasty, whose capital was at Hsien-yang²⁸ (modern Shensi province), Ch'êng Chou became a district city.

The capital of the Han dynasty was established at Ch'ang-an²⁹ on the advice of Lou Ching³⁰ and Chang Liang³¹ given to the emperor Kao Tsu³² who passed through Lo-yang in the fifth year of his reign and wanted to build his capital there. The capital remained in the west until the defeat of the usurper Wang Mang.³³ Kêng Shih³⁴ took charge of the capital and Liu Hsiu³⁵ who had been born in Ch'êng Chou set up his capital in this place as the first emperor of the Eastern Han dynasty. The city was given the name of Lo-yang and the name of Wang Ch'êng was changed to Ho-nan³⁶.

The Ch'ien Lung edition of the *Topographical Records of the District of Lo-yang*³⁷ states that the capital of the Eastern Han was situated thirty *li* on the east of the present city of Lo-yang, and that the site of the ancient district city was three *li* farther east. It further states that on the north of the ancient Han capital is the Fêng Huang Ling,³⁸ i.e., Mang Shan³⁹ and on the south the Wan An Shuang Fêng.⁴⁰ Hei Shih Kuan⁴¹ is seventy *li*

²¹ 豐 ²² 鎬 ²³ 水經注 ²⁴ 國語 ²⁵ 靈王 ²⁶ 穀 ²⁷ 韋昭 ²⁸ 咸陽

²⁹ 長安 ³⁰ 襄敬 ³¹ 張良 ³² 高祖 ³³ 王莽 ³⁴ 更始 ³⁵ 劉秀

³⁶ 河南 ³⁷ 洛陽縣志 ³⁸ 鳳凰嶺 ³⁹ 邙山 ⁴⁰ 萬安雙峯 ⁴¹ 黑石關

on the east and Ku Shui⁴² seventy *li* on the west. Fifty *li* on the southwest is the I Ch'üeh⁴³ and Hou Kuan⁴⁴ is fifty *li* on its southeast. The Yellow River is twenty *li* on the north. This description leaves no doubt of the fact that the new capital city of Lo-yang was located on the site of the Chou city of Ch'êng Chou. The city was destroyed during the last years of the Eastern Han by Tung Cho⁴⁵ as a means of forcing the emperor Hsien Ti⁴⁶ to move westward to Ch'ang-an.

In the Wei dynasty Lo-yang became one of the five capitals established by the first emperor Wên Ti⁴⁷ (A.D. 220-227), the other four being Chiao,⁴⁸ Hsü-ch'ang,⁴⁹ Ch'ang-an and Yeh.⁵⁰ The city of Ho-nan (Wang Ch'êng) was made a part of Lo-yang.

During the frequent changes of imperial masters in the succeeding two centuries Lo-yang figured as a capital city on several unimportant occasions.

In the 17th year of T'ai Ho,⁵¹ A.D. 493, the emperor Hsiao Wên Ti⁵² of the Northern Wei moved his capital to Lo-yang and ordered the minister of the Board of Works Mu Liang⁵³ to construct palace buildings, but to retain the old Chin⁵⁴ dynasty names of the city gates. This city was completely destroyed during the troublous years of Yung Hsi⁵⁵ of the reign of the emperor Hsiao Wu Ti⁵⁶ and of Ta T'ung⁵⁷ of the emperor Wên Ti,⁵⁸ for Yang Hsüan-chih⁵⁹ in his *Lo Yang Chia Lan Chi*⁶⁰ states that in the fifth year of Wu Ting,⁶¹ A.D. 547, when he passed through the old capital of the Northern Wei at Lo-yang he saw that all the city walls and palace buildings had fallen down and the numerous temples were in ashes.

A new city was built by the emperor Yang Ti⁶² of the Sui⁶³ in A.D. 605 on the site of the ancient city of Wang Ch'êng of the Chou dynasty. The *Sui History* narrates that when the emperor visited Lo-yang and viewed the surrounding country from the Pei Mang Shan⁶⁴ he was so impressed with it that he exclaimed, "Why is it that the past dynasties did not establish their capital at this place?" Su Wei⁶⁵ replied "They have reserved it for you." This greatly pleased the emperor and he thereupon decided to establish his capital there.

⁴² 穀水⁴⁷ 文帝⁴⁸ 孝文帝⁴⁹ 大統⁵⁰ 楊帝⁴³ 伊闕⁴⁸ 譙⁴⁹ 穆亮⁵⁰ 文帝⁵¹ 隋⁴⁴ 緱關⁴⁹ 許昌⁵¹ 晉⁵⁹ 楊街之⁶⁴ 北邙山⁴⁵ 董卓⁵⁰ 鄴⁵⁵ 永熙⁶⁰ 洛陽伽藍記⁶⁵ 蘇威⁴⁶ 獻帝⁵¹ 太和⁵⁶ 孝武帝⁶¹ 武定

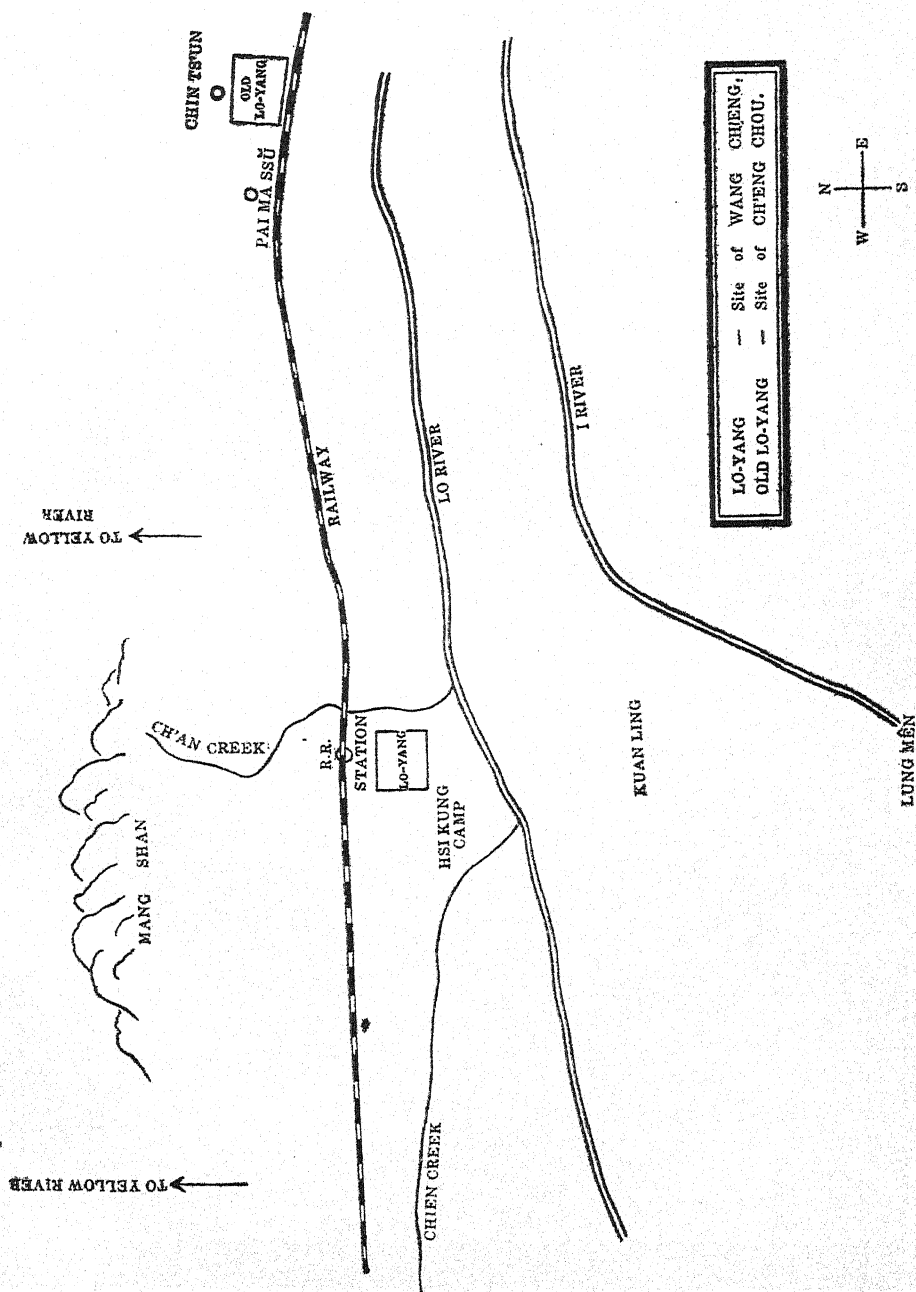
This was a very large city, having had a circumference of seventy-three *li* and 153 paces. It covered in it the site of the ancient city of Wang Ch'êng of the Chou dynasty and extended across the Chien river on the west and the Ch'an river on the east. It was called the Eastern Capital.

The T'ang dynasty inherited two capitals from the Sui. The western capital had been established in A.D. 582, the second year of the K'ai Huang⁶⁶ period of the emperor Wên Ti⁶⁷ and the eastern in A.D. 605, the first year of the Ta Yeh⁶⁸ period of the emperor Yang Ti. The official name of the western capital was at first Ching Tu,⁶⁹ but in A.D. 742, the first year of the T'ien Pao⁷⁰ period of the emperor Ming Huang,⁷¹ it was changed to Hsi Ching.⁷² In A.D. 757, the second year of the Chih Tê⁷³ period of the emperor Su Tsung⁷⁴ it was changed to Chung Ching,⁷⁵ but in A.D. 760 it again took the name of Hsi Ching which in A.D. 762 was transformed into Shang Tu.⁷⁶ The eastern capital taken over from the Sui was on the site of the Chou city Wang Ch'êng, i.e., approximately the present city of Lo-yang. Ho-nan as the name of the city was abandoned and the name Lo-yang transferred from the Chou city Ch'êng Chou to this place. From this time onward the ancient site of Ch'êng Chou fell into ruins and it has never been restored.⁷⁷ The new city of Lo-yang was called the Eastern Capital, Tung Tu⁷⁸ but its rank as a capital was abolished in A.D. 621, the fourth year of the Wu Tê⁷⁹ period of the first emperor Kao Tsu.⁸⁰ It was revived by his son Li Shih-min⁸¹ in A.D. 632 during the sixth year of his reign under the name of Lo-yang Kung.⁸² This name lasted till A.D. 657 when it was again called Tung Tu. The empress Wu Hou⁸³ who made it her capital changed it in A.D. 684 to Shên Tu,⁸⁴ but Chung Tsung⁸⁵ when he resumed the throne restored the original name and resided here for a year. This period of twenty-two years (A.D. 684-706) was the only time

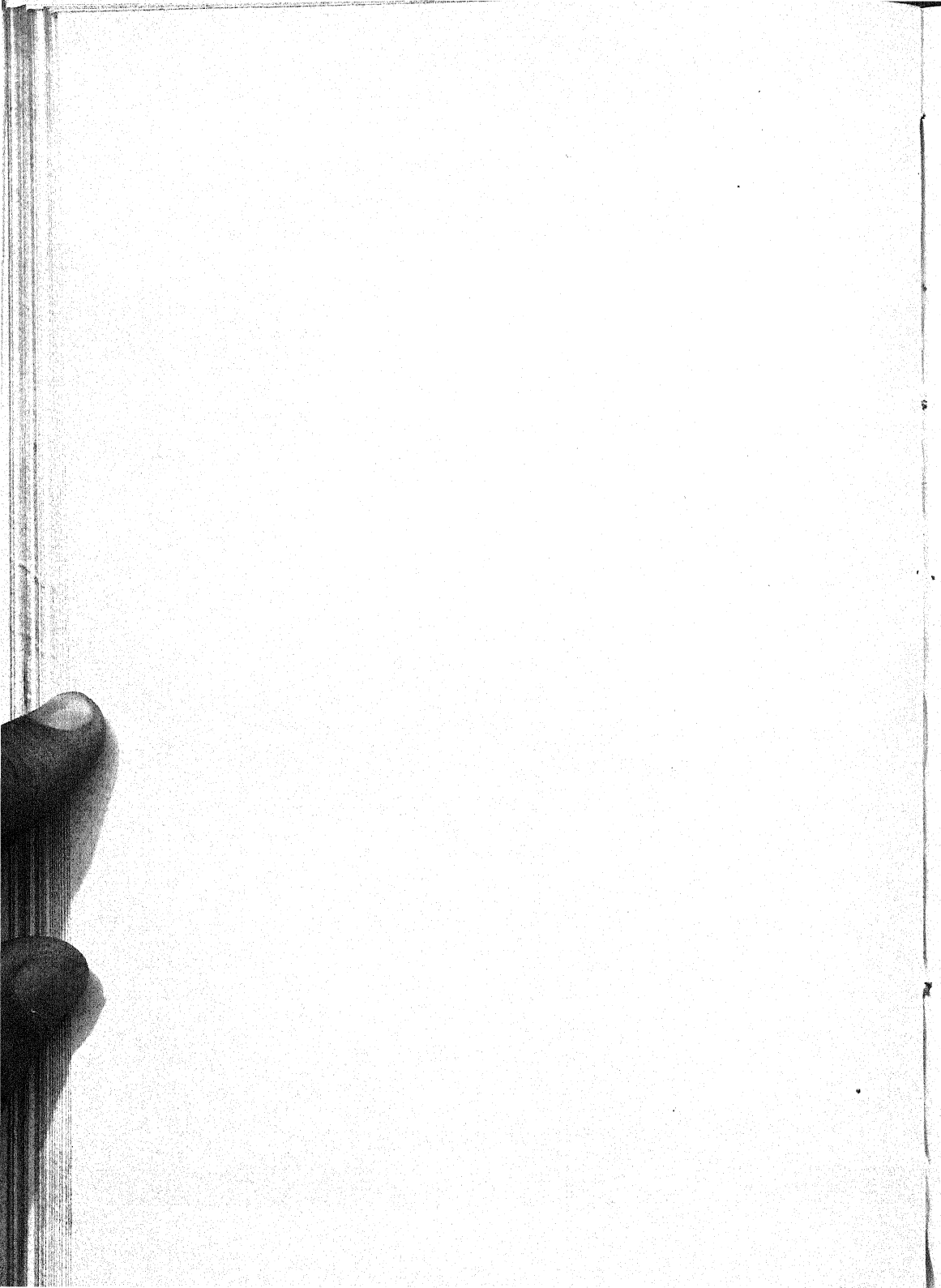
⁶⁶ 開皇⁶⁷ 文帝⁶⁸ 大業⁶⁹ 京都⁷⁰ 天寶⁷¹ 明皇⁷² 西京⁷³ 至德⁷⁴ 肅宗⁷⁵ 中京⁷⁶ 上都

⁷⁷ This site is now known as Chin Yung Ch'êng (金墉城) or Lo Yang Ku Ch'êng (洛陽故城). The mud walls can still be traced. An opening in these walls on the east leads to the suburbs known as Tung Kuan (東關) and another on the west to Pai Ma Ssü (白馬寺), the White Horse temple. (Information supplied by Bishop William C. White).

⁷⁸ 東都⁷⁹ 武德⁸⁰ 高祖⁸¹ 李世民⁸² 洛陽宮⁸³ 武后⁸⁴ 神都⁸⁵ 中宗



SKETCH MAP OF THE LOYANG REGION



during the T'ang dynasty when Lo-yang was the actual capital of the empire, though it must be remembered that even during these years the Western Capital remained the nominal centre of the government. This in turn was changed to Tung Ching⁸⁶ in A.D. 742 by Ming Huang at the same time as he gave the name Hsi Ching⁸⁷ to the Western capital. The emperor Su Tsung abolished it in A.D. 761, the year of his victory over Shih Ssü-ming⁸⁸ which he proclaimed as the first year of all time, but he repented himself and re-established it as Tung Tu the following year. It remained the eastern capital until A.D. 904 when the last emperor of the T'ang dynasty Chao Hsüan Ti⁸⁹ abolished the Western Capital and made Lo-yang the actual capital at the orders of Chu Ch'üan-chung⁹⁰ whose home was in this place. Here during the same year this weak emperor and all his sons, except one boy of fourteen, were put to death.

The city was rebuilt in the first year of Ching Yu,⁹¹ A.D. 1034, of the emperor Jên Tsung⁹² of the Sung dynasty. It was very much smaller than the original Sui-T'ang city and covered only a portion of it. Little was done to the city during the Chin⁹³ and Yüan⁹⁴ dynasties. According to the Topographical Records of the district of Lo-yang the walls of the old city were constructed with earth and the first brick walls of the present city were built in the sixth year of Hung Wu,⁹⁵ A.D. 1373. Extensive repairs and additions were made in the first years of the Ch'ing⁹⁶ dynasty. In 1932 it was again designated as a capital and the National Government was nominally removed from Nanking.

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*Lo Yang Hsien Chih*¹⁰¹ (Ch'ien Lung Edition).

*Ch'ang An Chih.*¹⁰²

*T'ang Liang Ching Ch'êng Fang K'ao.*¹⁰³

*Lo Yang Chia Lan Chi.*¹⁰⁴

⁸⁶ 東京	⁸⁷ 西京	⁸⁸ 史思明	⁸⁹ 昭宣帝	⁹⁰ 朱全忠	⁹¹ 景祐
⁹² 仁宗	⁹³ 金	⁹⁴ 元	⁹⁵ 洪武	⁹⁶ 清	
⁹⁷ 資治通鑑	⁹⁸ 續通志	⁹⁹ 太平御覽	¹⁰⁰ 河南通志		
¹⁰¹ 洛陽縣志	¹⁰² 長安志	¹⁰³ 唐兩京城坊考	¹⁰⁴ 洛陽伽藍記		

THE PHILOSOPHY OF TAI TUNG-YÜAN

By MANSFIELD FREEMAN

I.

The 17th century in China witnessed significant and far reaching changes in philosophical and political thought. The Neo-Confucian schools which had reigned supreme since the Sung dynasty were losing their hold on the minds of many of the more vigorous and patriotic scholars. Neither the scholasticism of Chu Hsi¹ or the mysticism of Wang Yang-ming² offered an adequate solution for the intellectual problems of the time. More serious still, the educational system was not producing leaders qualified to deal with the intricate economic, social and political questions with which the country was faced. Confucian scholars have never been armchair philosophers only, but since the days of Confucius they have considered it their duty to take an active interest in politics. In the 17th century, however, as political mentors of the corrupt Ming emperors, they were failing dismally to devise any practical method by which the aggressions of the Manchus could be checked. As one critic expressed the situation, "The government did not have a single minister on whom it could rely. Those it had, would sit in the Ministry of War criticising the *Tso Chüan*, composing poetry and discussing, while the enemy's troops were near the city."³ In view of the political impotence of these Confucian scholars it was but natural that their philosophy should lose its prestige as a political theory and that patriotic scholars should turn against a system of thought which was unable to save the country from foreign invasion.

The revolt against Sung dynasty philosophy was led by scholars from many parts of the country. In Ssü-

¹ 朱熹, 1130-1200.

² 王陽明, 1427-1528.

³ 李燾 in 恕谷集與方靈舉書.

ch'üan we find the famous Fei family, Fei Ching-yü, his son, Fei Mi, and his grandson, Fei Hsi-huang.⁴ For three generations the teachings of this family emphasized the uselessness of scholars trained under the Buddhist-tainted Confucianism of the Sung, Yüan and Ming dynasties and insisted that the test of leadership was not erudition, but effectiveness in constructive activity. They characterized the subtle speculations of the Ch'êng brothers and Chu Hsi as "Bags to contain the wind and and fog which seemed at times to be real and at other times to be unreal";⁵ and they argued that the Confucian scholar must recognize his responsibility to the state by doing something of real benefit to the nation.

In Kiangsu, Ku T'ing-lin⁶ supplied active and effective leadership in attacking Sung dynasty teachings and methods. A true revolutionary, he spent a large personal fortune and devoted the major part of his life to futile intrigues against the Manchu conquerors. In spite of this, he found time to make significant contributions in literary research, philosophy and economics. His educational program contained two planks—"real learning" and "effective action." He was determined to replace that form of education which concerns itself with philosophical speculations by a practical learning which expresses itself in action. He attacked the doctrines of the Sung rationalists on the one hand and, on the other, conducted scholarly researches into the Classics to find the real meaning of the sages which had been overlooked or ignored since the Han dynasty. He also interested himself in economics, studied agriculture, promoted irrigation and organized a new banking system for the province of Shansi.

Other radical scholars, such as Hu Fei-ming, Yao Li-fang, Yen Pai-shih,⁷ contributed to the undermining of the traditional philosophy by their critical studies of ancient texts. They revealed the forgeries and interpolations in books which the Sung scholars had considered the sacred foundation of their doctrines; they pointed out the strong Buddhist and Taoist influences in the teachings of the rationalistic schools of Confucianism.

The most important school of anti-Sung thought was that which was started by Yen Yüan in north China and carried on by his chief disciple Li Kung.⁸ The teachings

⁴ 費經虞, 費密, 費錫璣.

⁵ 弘道書 by Fei Mi.

⁶ 顧亭林, 1613-1682.

⁷ 胡牖明, 姚立方, 閻百詩.

⁸ 顏元, 李榕.

of these two men were so true in their criticism of rationalistic doctrines, so sane in their advocacy of creative useful labour, so scientific in their insistence on the pragmatic testing of ideas that they have many admirers and followers among Chinese scholars of to-day.

II.

The revolt against Sung dynasty doctrines which started in the 17th century and extended throughout the 18th century is sometimes referred to as the "Back-to-the-Han Movement." This is because of the confidence these scholars showed in the commentators of the Han dynasty. It is also called the "Chêng Learning" in honour of Chêng Hsüan,⁹ a distinguished Han scholar. But whatever designation be given, it certainly is more significant in the history of Chinese philosophy than a mere re-study of the writings of ancient scholars. It was definitely a constructive movement, including scholarly research in philology, textual criticism, higher criticism and archaeology, and, in addition to its purely literary phases, a re-emphasizing of the pragmatic and utilitarian teachings of the sages, applying these teachings in new ways to meet the needs of a modern age.

Three important results may be noted as the achievements of this movement. First of all, there were a number of the important doctrines of the Sung Confucianists which were thoroughly discredited. The historians of the Sung school had insisted that their school was the only direct inheritor of the teachings of Confucius and Mencius. In the words of Chu Hsi, "After the Chou dynasty, Mencius was dead and there was no one to transmit the teachings of the sage. The world lost what is called the scholarly learning. . . . There was no one to take control or establish these teachings. After five hundred years, Chou Lien-hsi was the first to get at the hidden meaning of the sages and saints and develop it. Only his mind could grasp it and bring out its form in books, expressing its secret and the intricacies of man's Heaven-given nature and the Decree. He practiced this himself and controlled men with its fundamental principle so that there was nothing which was not completed. In Honan, the Chêng brothers personally saw this and

⁹ 鄭玄.

received his teachings. As a result, this teaching spread throughout the country." ¹⁰ Fei Mi demolished this argument by accurately tracing the history of Chinese thought through the centuries and arguing that, as the real line of inheritance is the history of the nation and the achievements of men, the Sung scholars occupy a very inconspicuous and insignificant position.

Another Sung dynasty teaching to be severely criticised was the doctrine of the Heavenly Law. The Heavenly Law, according to Ch'êng Ming-tao, who first proposed the theory, and Ch'êng I-ch'üan and Chu Hsi, who developed it, is quite different from law as commonly understood. It was conceived as an ontological entity and became very useful as a hook on which to hang many ethical and religious conclusions and also valuable as a political weapon to batter down resistance and subdue opponents. Yen Hsi-chai and Li Kung showed that law is not something in itself to be spelt with a capital L but simply a characteristic of things "like the rings in a piece of wood or the lines in jade." To discover the law one does not require philosophy but needs only to experiment with things in a practical manner and find out how they work.

One more doctrine which hardly survived the ridicule heaped upon it was the theory that if a man will sit quietly in contemplation he can in time reach an understanding of the meaning of the universe. This doctrine was a plagiarism from the religious practices of the Buddhists and Taoists with whom the Sung scholars were competing for men's attention. The Buddhists taught that by contemplation one might attain to arhatship; the Taoist taught that by contemplation one might some day become a spirit. Not to be outdone, the Confucian scholar assured his followers that by contemplation one might become a sage. The radicals of the 17th century thoroughly discredited this doctrine. They showed its source to be Buddhist and Taoist: they stamped it as rank superstition; they ridiculed the idea that a Confucian scholar whose main responsibility is effective mastery of mundane affairs can accomplish the task by introspection.

The second achievement to be mentioned was the discovery of a scientific method of research. A cardinal doctrine of the Sung scholars was the instruction given

¹⁰ 三先生詞記.

in the Great Learning. "Investigate things that knowledge may be complete."¹¹ This point of view was scientific but they failed completely in their aim, not through lack of sincerity, but because they did not understand how to conduct a scientific investigation. Throughout the Sung, Yüan and Ming dynasties this was a problem which no one could solve. Early in the 17th century, Ch'ên Ti, a Fukienese, wrote a book entitled *Sounds of the Mao Poems*¹² in which he attempted to establish the original tone of each character by using evidence from the *Book of Poetry* itself and then checking this against evidence gleaned from contemporary writers. Ku T'ing-lin's *Study of the Sounds of the Five Books*,¹³ which followed soon after, employed a similar method for fixing the original sound of characters, and it became a standard for later literary work. The use of inductive and deductive reasoning once established for literary research was soon applied to other problems, historical, political, social and economic. Of course at first this method was used against unscientific conclusions of the Sung scholars and to reveal forgeries or interpolations in the Classics which these scholars quoted as the authority for their theories. But it soon became a method by which discoveries in new fields of thought could be made and its advantage over the past was that a theory once established on a sure foundation of fact could not be overthrown by either prejudice, influence or eloquence.

In the third place, the labours of these reformers led them away from pure philosophical speculation to a consideration of concrete practical questions which had significance in every day life. By the application of inductive and deductive reasoning and experiment to vital problems these writers were able to make contributions to the political and social life of their times which had been impossible for those of earlier dynasties who had depended only on pure reason and the authority of the Classics.

But these revolutionaries, though they discussed philosophical problems, made no attempt to organize a philosophy of their own. Their point of view was destructive rather than constructive. They were engaged in an attack on a formidable philosophical system with the prestige of five centuries of success, one which, because

¹¹ Great Learning, V, 5.

¹² 陳第, 毛詩古音考.

¹³ 音學五書.

of the patronage of emperors and a control of the examination system, was strongly entrenched politically. It was but natural that they should have been prejudiced against philosophy as such and each writer be satisfied to devote his attention to some narrow field of research. No one made an attempt to organize these fragments into a whole or to present a view of all knowledge as a unit. As one historian has described them, "The scholars of this period had the energy to work but they did not have any foundation for their work. Though they studied carefully, they formed no connection between their ideas. They were like sick silk worms who, though they eat mulberry leaves, produce no silk."¹⁴

This was the situation until the middle of the 18th century, when Tai Chên began his career. In spirit he was one of the radicals, but he was not content with a partial view of knowledge. Using the scientific method of research and keeping constantly before him the viewpoint of history, he made a revaluation of the rationalistic doctrines of the previous five hundred years. On the other hand, he accepted many of the conclusions of his predecessors of the 17th century. He followed the radicals in attacking the rationalism of the Sung scholars but he made a synthesis of what he considered best in the philosophies of the past and became the founder of a new school of rationalism suited for his own scientific age.

III.

Tai Chên¹⁵ was born in Huichou, Anhui province, in 1724. When a small boy, he showed promise as an earnest student, reviewing carefully the meaning of every character he read and not being content unless he understood thoroughly every passage. One anecdote which is told of his boyhood reveals that spirit of inquiry and keen analysis which characterized his later work. At the age of ten, he was studying the *Great Learning* with his teacher. He enquired, "How do you know that this book contains the words of Confucius, transmitted by Tsêng-tzū, and how do you know that it contains the ideas of Tsêng-tzū recorded by his disciples?" The teacher replied, "The early Confucian scholar, Chu Hsi, states it is so." "But when did Chu Hsi live?" was the next question. "In the Southern Sung dynasty." "And when did

¹⁴ 章學誠.

¹⁵ Tai Chên (戴震), style Tung-yüan (東原).

Confucius and Tsêng-tzū live?" "In the Eastern Chou period." "How many years separated these dynasties?" "About two thousand years." "Then how did Chu Hsi know that what he affirms is so?" The teacher had no answer to this final question.¹⁶

At the age of twenty, Tai Chên began mature studies under Chiang Yung,¹⁷ a scholar of considerable reputation. Chiang was a follower of Chu Hsi. He gave Tai Chên a thorough drilling in the Classics as well as introducing him to the doctrines of the Ch'êng-Chu school. Through this teacher, Tai Chên also became acquainted with Ch'êng Yao-t'ien and Chin Pang,¹⁸ two fellow-students who were later to become famous scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty.

In addition to learning thoroughly the doctrines of the Sung and Ming dynasty rationalists, Tai Chên's later writings clearly indicate that he was familiar with the teachings of the Yen-Li pragmatic school. Just what was the actual connection is not known. One writer suggests that it may have been through Ch'êng T'ing-tso,¹⁹ a Huichou man, and an ardent admirer of Yen Yüan. Ch'êng lived at Chiang Ning. It is probable that Tai Chên met him there. In any case, Tai combined a profound knowledge of the Classics with a thorough grounding in the doctrines of the Neo-Confucian schools and the criticism of these teachings by the scholars of the early Ch'ing period. Interpreting this material from a sure and accurate historical point of view he was able to evaluate Confucianism from its beginning and develop his new rationalistic philosophy.

Tai Chên wrote his first book at the age of twenty-two. Eleven years later he left his home and went to Peking, where he remained for the rest of his life in contact with the best scholars of the day, receiving recognition as a philosopher and teacher. In 1773, the 38th year of Ch'ien Lung, he was appointed as one of the editors of the *Ssü K'u Ch'üan Shu* and continued his labours in the Ssü K'u library until his death in 1777.

IV.

Tai Chên's ontological point of view is clearly materialistic. He says, "The Tao means activity. Tao

¹⁶ 洪榜 in 初堂遺稿戴先生行狀.

¹⁷ 江永.

¹⁸ 程瑤田, 金榜.

¹⁹ 程廷祚, 1691-1767.
戴東原的哲學.

Dr. Hu Shih advances this theory in his

is thus the Ether that evolves and changes continually, producing life which gives birth to more life. The *Book of Changes* says, 'The interaction of the Yin and Yang is the Tao.' The *Hung Fan* says, 'The Five Elements consist of water, fire, wood, metal and earth.' The word Activity is also a popular name for Tao. Whenever the Yin and Yang are considered, the Five Elements are thought of, and conversely, whenever the Five Elements are considered, the Yin and Yang are thought of, because the Yin and Yang include the Five Elements while the Five Elements include the Yin and Yang."²⁰

And in another passage he says, "The Yin and Yang interacting constitute the unceasing evolution of the universe which is the Tao. Does not the Yin and Yang interacting mean life giving birth to life and does this not imply the laws which govern this life producing life? This indicates the continuity of the universe and explains the statement that the Yin and Yang interacting make the Tao."²¹

Materialism was a normal position for Tai Chên to take. It was in harmony with the *Book of Changes* and other Classics of the pre-Ch'in period which he had studied carefully. It was a natural reaction to the religious teachings of the rationalist scholars he was attacking. Although the Neo-Confucian movement of the Sung dynasty had started with the naturalistic doctrines of Lao-tzu as a basis and such passages as just quoted from Tai Chên's writings would have been appropriate sentiments for Chou Tun-i's "Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained," the influence of Buddhism had led later teachers to a recognition of spiritual forces. The doctrine of the Heavenly Law, advanced by Ch'êng Ming-tao and developed to a fuller extent by his younger brother Ch'êng I-ch'üan, had become in the writings of Chu Hsi a spiritual force which transformed the dualism of Law and Ether into an idealism with Law supreme. Tai Chên repudiates this doctrine and pictures a universe which is the result of purely materialistic forces.

This explanation of the universe is consistently applied to the existence of man. "When the Five Elements take material form they become objects; when they constitute the framework of material things they become the

²⁰ 孟子字義疏證, 16.

²¹ 原善, Pt. I, 3.

Tao. The Five Elements and the Yin and Yang co-operating produce human nature."²² There is no spiritual force, either Heavenly Law or otherwise, which enters into man's make-up and explains his inner spiritual life. Human nature is just a natural development from matter. As Tai Chên explains it, "Men and animals are produced by the Yin and Yang and the Five Elements and they are limited by the natures which are given to them. The Yin, Yang and Five Elements are the real substance of the Tao. The blood, breath, heart and mind are the real substance of the nature. There being the substance, its division to each individual is possible. With this division come the inequalities. It was from this point of view that the ancients spoke of the nature as coming from the Heavenly Tao."²³

Since Tai Chên refuses to consider spirit as anything more than a special manifestation of matter, human nature in his philosophy is completely described by calling it physical nature. Here he carries to a logical conclusion the arguments of Yen Yüan, who defended the physical nature against the rationalist scholars. In the Sung dynasty the existence of evil had been a serious ethical problem. Having insisted that man's spirit was the manifestation of the Heavenly Law in each individual, they did not dare to accuse it of any wickedness else they would be imputing evil to one of the two basic creative forces and thus the universe would be rotten at its core. But as evil was a fact which had to be explained, they adopted the Buddhist method of dividing human nature into two parts. Man's spirit, the nature of Law, was virtuous as Mencius had insisted. Man's physical nature, his inheritance from the Ether force of the universe, was responsible for his passions and feelings and hence was evil. The problem of ethics for them was therefore to teach men to suppress their desires and cultivate the higher nature until it would dominate all action.

Tai Chên explains how the theory of the Sung scholars was a plagiarism from Buddhist and Taoist teachings. "Lao-tzū, Chuang-tzū, and the Buddhists in speaking of man, recognized the existence of a body and a spirit but considered the spirit as the basic element. By extension, they considered this spirit as the basic element of the universe. Thus they took what has no shape or material form as the real thing and what has shape and material form as illusionary. The Sung scholars considered the

²² 原善, Pt. I, 2.

²³ 孟子字義疏證, 16.

body, the Ether and the mind as belonging to the individual while the Law was something the individual received from Heaven. By extension, they made a clear distinction between Law and Ether, conceiving the Law which is without shape or material form as the real thing and conceiving what has shape and material form as rude and coarse. . . . They held that Law is the ruler of Ether just as the Buddhists held that spirit is the ruler of matter. They thought that the Law can produce the Ether just as the Buddhists thought that the spirit can produce matter. They believed that the Law was injured by material form but could gain back its original purity only that it is hindered by man's desires, while the Buddhists believed that the spirit has been limited in its development by the body but could gain back its original purity except for the fact that it has become enmeshed by material desires."²⁴

In Tai Chên's opinion this is wrong. There is no spirit, only the physical nature. The mental side of man exists, of course, but it exists in and through the physical. "Because man has a physical form, so he has a mind which knows. The ability to accomplish things in the world comes from this fact. Thus the wise man knows that the Way of Man is completely embodied in human nature."²⁵

But if man is identified only with material forces how shall we account for those feelings of sympathy and love, the sense of right and wrong and the other attributes of intelligence which distinguish man from beasts? Tai Chên answers that these finer feelings are a logical evolution from baser primitive instincts. "All living things," he explains, "understand what it means to cling to life and fear death, because of which they seek for what is beneficial to them and avoid what is harmful and, although there may be a difference in whether this feeling of self preservation is secret or expressed, love of life and fear of death are characteristic of all. There is no distinction between man and animals at this point. . . . Man can develop his understanding until his intelligence is godlike and his benevolence, righteousness, courtesy and wisdom are complete. Benevolence, righteousness, courtesy and wisdom are the goal of complete enlightenment. . . . Mencius said that when a man sees a

²⁴ 孟子字義疏證, 19.

²⁵ 原善, Pt. I, 1.

child fall into a well he feels anxiety and sympathy. Thus what is called sympathy and what is called benevolence are not apart from the mind like external objects but are centred in the mind. Since the man understands the love of life and the fear of death he is anxious over the danger to the child and is sympathetic over the possible death of the child. If there were no love of life or fear of death why would there be this feeling of anxiety and sympathy? The same principle holds in the case of the sense of shame, the sense of modesty and the distinction between right and wrong. If there were no desire for food and drink, no sexual desire or response to external stimuli but the mind was calm and self-centred, how could there be any sense of shame or modesty or knowledge of right and wrong? This shows that benevolence, righteousness, courtesy and wisdom are only expressions of the love of life and fear of death, the desire for food and drink, for sexual satisfaction and the response to external stimuli which cannot be ignored or absorbed in the calmness and self sufficiency of the mind; and it is this which makes man's mind different from that of animals and guides his conduct to virtue. The ancient sages and men of virtue did not seek for benevolence, righteousness, courtesy and wisdom apart from man's desires or apart from men's bodies and minds." ²⁶

Tai Chên does not object to Mencius' dictum that human nature is virtuous. In fact it should be so when, as he maintains, the whole of the universe is basically good. This essential goodness he insists on, even though the universe is a materialistic one governed by impersonal law. "Life producing life is benevolence," he asserts, "There is no life giving life without laws governing the process. The Ceremonies express the order of these laws; Righteousness expresses the definiteness of these laws. . . . When we speak of goodness, the common ground for the whole universe is meant; when we speak of human nature, what everyone takes to form the basis of his own individual nature is meant. Goodness is nothing else but this. Goodness can be understood from the evolution of the universe and the potentialities of human nature." ²⁷

If goodness is imputed to the universe in this manner, then man inevitably shares in it, for he is a product of universal forces and his life has no meaning apart from

²⁶ 孟子字義疏證, 21.

²⁷ 原著, Pt. I, 3.

them. "When things are inanimate," he says, "Although they have form, their physical natures are divorced from the universe. A plant can grow only as long as it is connected with its roots. Birds and beasts cling to life as long as they have feelings. Man's spirit and intelligence come from his mind which is pure, excellent, centralized, correct and his enlightened virtue is in harmony with the universe. Thus, when man's physical nature is identified with the universe, he has life, and when his conduct is in accord with the universe, he is sage-like."²⁸

But it must be kept in mind that virtue in man is not due to any special endowment or because of the existence of any spiritual essence or soul which distinguishes him from beasts. Goodness in man means for Tai Chên simply that higher intelligence and capacity for directed action and rational conduct. Animals cling to life and fear death. Man does more than this. He senses the rhythm of the universe, is able to regulate his conduct and to live in harmony with the great world forces. "The term 'nature' applies equally to all animals and plants. The term 'good nature' applies only to man. . . . When creatures with physical bodies only are considered, a distinction should be made not on the basis of different physical constitutions but on the basis of their perceptions. Man possesses an appreciation of courtesy and righteousness as distinct from animals and thus shows a greater depth of knowledge and perception. This is what Mencius meant by his statement that human nature is good."²⁹ And in another passage he says, "The desires of the ears, eyes and hundred organs of the body are what the physical part of man depends on for its development and are therefore called the desires of the nature When we speak of those desires of human nature which are without fault, we call it the virtuous nature. The desires of the nature are its spontaneous expressions while the virtue of the nature refers to those things which ought to be done. Those things which ought to be done simply complete what is spontaneous in the nature. This is called the complete fulfillment of the spontaneous."³⁰

Man's nature, Tai Chên believes, should be given a free chance for expression. The Sung scholars had argued differently. They believed that since the desires are a product of the cruder, coarser elements of the

²⁸ IDEM, Pt. II, 1.

²⁹ 孟子字義疏證, 27. ³⁰ 原善, Pt. I, 6.

universe they should be suppressed and only the virtuous nature, that which has come as an heritage from the Heavenly Law, should be cultivated. Tai, on the contrary, because he insists that the nature with its feelings and desires as well as its thoughts and noble aspirations is a unit, wants to see life lived fully on both the physical and mental planes. "There is no greater tragedy for a man than an inability to live his life completely. When the individual's desires are in harmony with complete life for others as well, benevolence is attained."³¹ He does not advocate that passion be given free rein. That would be just as much a violation of universal laws as the suppression of desires. But a refusal to recognize that physical impulses are natural and normal warps personality and hence is dangerous. He argues this point very much like a modern psychologist. "Lao Tan and Chuang Chou's teachings stressed the elimination of desires; the Confucian gentleman stresses the release of repressions. Those who stress the elimination of desires reach their goal by the method of contemplation; the Confucian gentleman centres activity and passivity in benevolence. Every man has desires which may degenerate into license. License is incompatible with the restraint and correctness of Heavenly Virtue. When the mind attains to Heavenly Virtue, maintaining the proper restraint and correctness, the desires will not degenerate into license. This is what Mencius meant by his statement that there is no better way to discipline the mind than to lessen the desires. Yü controlled the floods by guiding the waters through channels; the Confucian gentleman controls his desires by guiding them to the path of righteousness. If in controlling floods one attempts to dam them, then, when they are dammed to the East, they will flow toward the West or, more serious still, they will overflow the dam so that they cannot be checked at all. When a man governs himself or governs others by checking the desires, he tries vainly to apply the method of contemplation, but the desires restrained in one direction escape completely from control. The Confucian gentleman does not favour this method. He regulates desires according to the way of righteousness and induces men to refrain from such conduct as is incompatible with the way of righteousness."³²

³¹ 孟子字義疏證, 10.

³² 原善, Pt. II, 5.

V.

The most important doctrine of the Sung dynasty Confucianists was that of the Heavenly Law. This Law, the dominant ontological force of creation, is functioning in the spirit of man. It is the power which raises him above his physical self to virtuous and rational living. There is beauty and significance in this conception. "Are ye not better than sheep?" The Sung scholars answered. "Yes, because of the Law within you." Thus, since each man shares in this Heavenly Law, personality and individual worth are emphasized.

Unfortunately, however, this idea, potentially so fruitful for ethics, actually became a political weapon of autocracy. The scholars who developed this doctrine insisted that their system of education gave to them and their followers special insight into the nature and workings of the Heavenly Law and hence their philosophy was superior to that of their adversaries. They were eventually successful in this contention and by the authority of the Heavenly Law rose to power as the political and ethical advisors of the government. By the Ming dynasty the *Hsing Li Ta Ch'üan*,³³ a collection of the important writings of these scholars, became the standard interpretation of Confucianism and a knowledge of it the *sine qua non* of public office. Then the emperor himself seized upon the idea as a valuable tool to support absolute monarchy. Soon, throughout society, men were brought under the control of this philosophical law—the minister had authority over the people, the father over his son, the husband over his wife, the elder brother over his younger brother—all in the name of the Heavenly Law.

Tai Chên, living at the time of the greatest power of the Manchus, realized the danger of this misuse of the idea of law. He analyses the problem carefully. "The superior judges his inferior with the Law, the elder judges the younger, he who has prestige judges with Law he who has not and, even when they are wrong, they insist on obedience. But when the inferior, the younger or he without prestige try to defend themselves with Law, even though they may be right, they are branded rebellious. Because of this those below cannot approach those above them on the basis of the common feelings and

³³ 性理大全.

common desires of the world. Those above judge those who are below them and these inferiors, judged as criminals, have no one to defend them. When a person is condemned by legal rules he can be pitied but when one is condemned by Law who is there to pity him? Ah! The calamities caused by this mixture of Lao-tzū's teachings with Buddhism is greater than that caused by Shên-tzū and Han-tzū. In the Six Classics, in Mencius and Confucius can you find any teachings to the effect that law is like this while the feelings and desires have developed apart from man's real nature and should be forceably suppressed?"³⁴

And in another passage Tai Chên says, "One does not find many references to Law in the Six Classics, in Confucius or Mencius or in the various books and collected writings. The reason why even the most ignorant people in the world today when rebelling or revolting or in anger make dogmatic decisions or judge others on the basis of Law is because from the time of the Sung dynasty people have acquired the habit of considering Law as something which is concrete, received from Heaven and lodged in the mind, and thus they meet each situation with their own personal opinions. In this way those who have violent tempers and influence and are aided by their eloquence have the Law on their side, while those who are weak and mild in spirit and have no gift of eloquence are defeated. Ah! Who can say that questions are rightly settled in this manner or whether a man has the law on his side is thus decided? The ancients knew that one man's opinion cannot be called Law, but moderns speak thoughtlessly about this. When one thinks of the Law as concrete, received from Heaven and lodged in the mind, he will consider his own personal opinion to be the Law."³⁵

Bigotry, especially when upheld by the power of government and justified by the teachings of a powerful religion or philosophy, has been a menace to every civilization. In every land man has burnt his witches, poisoned his Socrates, crucified his Christs. Fortunately fanaticism and intolerance have been less conspicuous in the history of China than in many countries of the West, but the weight of outgrown customs and ancient superstitions have too often overwhelmed the individual

³⁴ 孟子字義疏證, 10.

³⁵ 孟子字義疏證, 5.

Chinese and arrested progress. Tai Chên, with a clear vision of the course of history, realized this danger. Law, that is the Law of the Sung philosophers, which stifles men's spirits and kills their bodies, must be overthrown. "Men to-day do not think," he says. "The Way of the sages depended upon encouraging everyone to express his feelings and follow his desires, thus would the world be rightly governed. The later Confucianists did not understand what a full release of the feelings meant but thought that the essence of life which satisfies is the Law. But what they called the Law is similar to the legal law of the judge. In administering the law the judge kills men. The later Confucianists also killed men with their Law. Gradually the conception of the legal law was forgotten and they discussed only their philosophical Law. Those who have been killed cannot be brought back to life again."³⁶

Tai Chên was not the first to point out the fallacies in the Sung scholars' conception of law. The Yen-Li school at the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty had opposed it most emphatically and had shown that the mind is not law, nor is the law something which has its abiding place in the mind. Law is a characteristic of things which through observation and experiment may be understood by the mind. Li Shu-ku said, "The later Confucianists broke the prohibition of the sages not to talk about human nature and Heaven and took Law and Ether as subjects of daily conversation, their discussions being, however, without value. . . . They did not understand that in the classics of the sages Way and Law have no meaning apart from human relations. . . . The word Law is very seldom used in the classics of the sages. The 'structural laws' of the *Doctrine of the Mean* have the same meaning as the 'separate laws' of Mencius. Both mean order and arrangement such as the lines in a piece of jade or the sub-divisions in a tract of land. . . . Today men consider the Law before they consider men and things, which is a decided mistake."³⁷ And in another passage Li said, "Affairs have their special laws, thus the law is in the affair. The *Book of Poetry* says, 'Everything has its arrangement.' Apart from affairs and things, where is this so-called law?"³⁸ Since the law is in things, not in the mind, it can only be understood

³⁶ 文集興業書。³⁷ 中庸傳注問。³⁸ 論語傳注問。

by an examination of the phenomena of the universe. So Yen Yüan said, "The Sung scholars said that when the law is not seen clearly people should be taught to again exhaust the meaning of the law. Confucius only taught his disciples to practice work. When they could see the law in their work they could understand it thoroughly from bottom to top. This is where the teachings of Confucius and Ch'êng-tzû and Chu-tzû divide."³⁹

Tai Chên does not specifically mention his indebtedness to Yen and Li, but from his discussion of this subject it seems obvious that he was familiar with their teachings. He says, "The law is the implement by which things are minutely investigated and distinguished one from another so that each can be given a name. Thus the law is called the distinctive law of things. From a material point of view it is the law of flesh and muscle or structure. When the law for each thing is distinguished, it has its special characteristic which cannot be confused with other laws and hence is called the characteristic law of a thing. Referring to Confucius' ability to generalize about all things together, Mencius said, 'The function of wisdom is to begin the distinguishing of the separate laws: the function of the sage is to complete this.' Wisdom and sagemess come to their perfection in Confucius so that he only mentioned the distinctions between laws. . . . The *Doctrine of the Mean* says, 'To closely investigate the structural laws, it is only necessary to classify them.' The *Book of Music* says, 'Music pervades the laws of human relations.' In commenting on these passages, Chêng Kang-ch'êng said, 'Law means distinctions.' In his preface to *Explanations of Characters*, Hsü Shu-chung said, 'A knowledge of the distinctions between laws makes it possible to classify things.' The conception of law of the ancients differs from that of later scholars."⁴⁰

In another passage Tai Chên makes it quite clear that law is a characteristic of things and not a quality or endowment of the mind. He says, "Taste, sound and colour exist in things and come into contact with our physical selves. Law and righteousness are in affairs and come in contact with our minds. The physical and mental selves have their own natural capacities, as for example the mouth can distinguish tastes, the ears

³⁹ 存學編, 3.

⁴⁰ 孟子字義疏證, 1,

distinguish sounds, the eyes distinguish colours and the mind distinguishes Law and Righteousness. Since tastes, sounds and colour exist in things and not in me, it is only when they come in contact with my physical self that I can distinguish them and be satisfied with them. The satisfaction must be with the best of these. Law and Righteousness consist in the classification and division of things. When they come to my mental self, I can distinguish and be satisfied with them. This satisfaction must be with the laws which are most correct."⁴¹

An understanding of the exact nature and the province of law was of profound importance in the history of Chinese thought. The Sung scholars faced many difficult problems, intellectual, political, economic, ethical. They realized the necessity of solving these questions on the basis of a correct knowledge of universal laws. A cardinal doctrine with them was "Investigate things that knowledge may be complete." But, lacking a clear understanding of the nature of law and the scientific method of research to discover it, their efforts were in vain. All the scholars agreed that the law is in the mind. As a method of discovering the exact nature of this law the Ch'eng-Chu school adopted a plan of classical study and attempted to find the laws which govern the universe in the writings of the sages. This school ended in scholasticism. On the other hand the Liu-Wang school believed that, in as much as the Heavenly Law was in the mind of man, it could be fully mastered by contemplation and introspection. This school ended in mysticism.

Tai Chên, living in the middle of the Ch'ing dynasty, was familiar with Yen Yüan and Li Shu-ku's analysis of law. He also had the benefit of the classical studies of Ch'ên Ti, Ku T'ing-lin and Yen Pai-shih. These men had discovered the scientific method and knew how to apply it in their literary work. It was but a short step from this to apply the same principles of inductive and deductive reasoning and experiment to the phenomena of nature and the problems of human conduct. So Tai Chên says, "What is meant by the statement 'Investigate things that knowledge may be complete'?" When things and affairs come up for consideration, even a sage in dealing with them cannot exhaust their entire significance

⁴¹ IDEM, 6.

without investigation, nor can the right or wrong, goodness or badness be easily decided. The word 'investigate' means getting at every fact concerning things without losing any of the meaning. When things are considered in a penetrating manner without losing sight of the slightest circumstance then there will be no doubt on the part of the individual and, when this principle is applied to the government, the world and the state, there will be nothing to regret."⁴² And in another passage he states, "The law of affairs and things lies in dissecting and analysing down to the minutest detail, then the law can be discovered."⁴³

When Tai Chên discusses those laws which apply especially to human relations and the method to be employed in discovering them, he emphasizes again the importance of the feelings of men in contrast to the Sung scholars and their theory of a virtuous nature superior to the physical nature. "The law," he states, "exists in the feelings which have not been disregarded. The law cannot be understood without also understanding the feelings. In every case where one acts in a certain way toward others, he should turn it around and reflectively ask himself whether he would be content to be acted toward in the same manner. Or when one blames others he should turn the question around and reflectively ask himself whether he would be content to be blamed in the same manner. When you put yourself in the place of others, the law is made clear. The Heavenly Law is the natural basis of the separate laws. This natural basis of the separate laws is grasped when the feelings of others are measured by one's own feelings and in no other way can everything be given its proper perspective."⁴⁴

This is a special application of the Golden Rule, using it as a standard and measure of ethical law. There is a danger, however, that such a test may become subjective. The individual could well argue that in as much as his feelings are similar to those of others, he can safely take them as a criterion for his action. Tai Chên avoids this danger by qualifying his statement with the caution that the feelings of the individual are not an infallible guide. The feelings of a large number of people must be taken as the test. "It is what minds have in common which is called Law and Righteousness; when an idea is

⁴² 原善, III, 8.

⁴³ 孟子字義疏證, 41.

⁴⁴ IDEM, 2.

not common to many minds but is held as an individual's opinion it is not Law or Righteousness. When someone considers a thing to be so and everyone in the world says it is unquestionably so then there exists what is called having the idea in common. . . . When things are distinguished from one another and each has a fixed rule it can be called Law, and when such things are suitable it is called Righteousness. Thus the understanding of the Law is the understanding of the distinctions, and the thoroughness of Righteousness depends on the thoroughness with which decisions about things are made. . . . Man cannot cause any greater suffering than to be in error but consider himself wise, depending on his own opinions and maintaining that these are Law and Righteousness. I am greatly afraid of those who depend on their own opinions to seek the Law and Righteousness. Who can tell how much sorrow they have caused others by this?"⁴⁵

This insistence on the part of Tai Chên that the feelings of man should be respected is logical when coming from one who believed that the physical nature with its cravings is human nature. But he does not mean that the feelings can guide one to basic laws without study and experiment. When asked how many minds can reach a point of agreement he says, "The intelligence of the mind strives to reach a place where it can make distinctions in things and affairs without error. Thus Law and Righteousness can be given names."⁴⁶ "The law of affairs and things lies in dissecting and analysing down to the minutest detail, then the law can be discovered."⁴⁷ "A mastery of the 'separate laws' of Mencius can only be accomplished by going from synthesis to analysis and from analysis to synthesis."⁴⁸

Thus Tai Chên conceives of the universe as materialistic but orderly. While there is no God or Heavenly Law to keep the world running, there are the separate laws which govern every action. By patient research and inductive and deductive reasoning, the very methods modern science employs, discoveries can be made and man can know what to expect from himself and the objects which surround him. And although man has no soul, no spirit, no special endowment from Heaven, he

⁴⁵ IDEM, 4.

⁴⁷ 孟子字義疏證, 41.

⁴⁶ 原善, Pt. II, 4.

⁴⁸ 年譜.

can, because of his intelligence which surpasses that of all other animals, develop in character and in those moral graces which make the true gentleman. "The bodily form begins with what is small and ultimately becomes fully grown. The moral character begins in ignorance and ultimately becomes sagacity and wisdom. The growth of the bodily form depends on the nourishment furnished by food and drink. With daily development it grows beyond its original state. The moral character by learning reaches sagacity and wisdom and also goes beyond its original state."⁴⁹

VI.

Tai Chên did not succeed in completely discrediting the Sung philosophy. It had too much prestige for that and many of the scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty continued to follow the Chu Hsi tradition in spite of Tai's attacks. He gave strong support to the opposition to the Sung schools of thought, however, and because he presented his criticisms as part of a unified philosophy, his attacks were doubly effective.

His philosophical materialism had considerable influence in his day. There are always those who find it easier to explain the higher and more complex forms of reality in terms of that which is simpler in structure. Also a respect for Tai's scientific approach to his subject naturally won a certain amount of support for his ontological views.

His repudiation of religion was not entirely original. It was rather the culmination of a movement which started at the end of the Ming dynasty. In origin this movement was political, nationalistic and anti-foreign. An attack on religion was incidental and due to the fact that the dominant religious philosophies were Buddhism, a foreign religion, and the Neo-Confucianism of the Sung dynasty which was deeply dyed with religious ideas borrowed from Buddhism and Taoism. But Tai's attack on religion was more effective than that of his predecessors because it was made an integral part of a logical philosophy of life.

Tai Chên's philosophy is also worthy of attention because of the influence it has in current thinking today. Atheism is popular in modern China. This is partly a

⁴⁹ 孟子字義疏證, 14.

result of the study of contemporary philosophy of the west made by modern Chinese scholars and partly due to the atheistic teachings of Communism. An equally important reason, however, is the opposition to Christianity because it entered China under the aegis of western imperialism. In politics the modern intellectual turns to the patriotic radicals who opposed the Manchus in 1600 for a justification of his revolution. In philosophy he also seeks his inspiration from those who attacked Sung philosophy which was tainted by a foreign religion. The materialistic philosophy of Tai Chên furnishes these scholars with teachings which they deem appropriate for this present era of change and revolution. Wu Chih-hui says, "For the present we should extol the establishment of a barren, uninteresting, materialistic civilization. When others attack us with machine guns we must use machine guns to defend ourselves. Afterwards we can reorganize our so-called national culture. What difference will a delay make?"⁵⁰ A realism born of the stern necessities of the present leads the modern intellectual to forego what he considers to be the luxury of an idealistic world view and foster a type of philosophy to which Tai Chên can well serve as guide.

⁵⁰ 一個新信仰的宇宙觀及人生觀。

T'AI MIAO

A Description of the Supreme Hall of Sacrifices of the Forbidden City

By EMIL S. FISCHER

While most of the Palaces and other edifices of the Forbidden City were successively opened, the T'ai Miao just east of the Ch'ang-An Mên long remained sealed and could not be visited. The Ch'ang-An Mên lies north of the Ch'ien Mên, i.e., the "Front-Gate" of the Tartar City leading into the Chinese City, a main entrance which is to the west of the Legation Quarter and in its immediate vicinity. The broad city road which runs southward from the Ch'ien Mên leads to the Ch'ang-An Mên of the Chinese City at the centre of its southern wall, in the inside eastern vicinity of which is the most famous edifice of Eastern Asia, the Temple of Heaven.

From the Ch'ang-An Mên in the south, north to the Ch'ien Mên, and after passing the former Ta-Ch'ing Mên in the long extension from gate to gate inside the Tartar City and the former Imperial City, there follow the last of the huge gate enclosures before reaching the South Gate of the Forbidden City. This is the Ch'ang-An Mên, with the pagoda-like upper gallery on the top of the wall over forty feet high with the open City Square and Parade Ground in front of this huge gate.

On the eastern section of this Square, in the vicinity of the three half-moon Gates which lead into the open eastern Ch'ang-An Chieh, the entrance to the T'ai Miao enclosure is found.

The eastern extension of this enclosure reaches almost to the road newly opened in Nan Ch'ih-Tzü after

the Manchu abdication. This is to-day a main street running from South to North in the eastern Section of the Imperial City, which in its northern part near the Coal-Hill, makes two sharp turns towards the Hou-Mên, by which the rear Gate of these inner City enclosures, namely the Forbidden and Imperial Cities, is meant. The southern extremity of the Nan Ch'ih-Tzū Road is *en-face* of the northern wall of the Legation-Quarter at the point where the British Legation is situated.

Leaving other approaches aside and entering the sacred and widespread park grounds of the T'ai Miao, its southern wall along the Ch'ang-An Chieh is found to measure almost thirteen hundred feet in length. The distance from the entrance gate of the T'ai Miao to its northern opposite entrance into the actual inner temple enclosure is almost 540 feet. Over all this area measuring some 1,300 by 540 feet a large park reserve with most impressive pines hundreds of years old flourishes in the heart of Peip'ing. These pines with their huge trunks and heavy branches are set out in fine regular lines of parallel avenues as well as in triangular passage ways, which give the grounds an enchanting aspect as of an immense sacrificial, or burial ground.

In the rear north centre of the park just after crossing its actual width there is a wide mural enclosure with courtyards in the centre wherein the place of supreme ancestral worship of the Manchu Rulers had its seat. The length of this vermilion coloured mural enclosure, forty feet high, is almost four hundred feet; the length of the eastern and the western side walls towards the northern enclosure of the grounds of the actual T'ai Miao (the Temple itself) each extend for almost 700 feet. The park grounds in front—in width 540 feet—give the whole outer width before the enclosure an extension of about 1,240 feet, with open spaces towards the eastern and the western lateral length of 1,300 feet. In the central section of the red wall of the Temple are three main gates, with an additional portico to the east and to the west.

Crossing the central main Gate, or Emperor's entrance, into the inner temple section, one finds himself in the ante-court yard of the sanctuary. This is a spacious compound, to the right and left of the walls of which are spacious official quarters, such as are seen in

all individual court sections of the Forbidden City. Here along the southern section of this ante-temple enclosure, and parallel to the south wall of the enclosure, just in the part outspread between the eastern and the western side buildings, there is a double balustrade of marble work. Between the balustrades there is a ditch, the base and side embankments of which are covered with marble slabs. In the centre of this double balustrade with the ditch between, there are to the east and west of this ditch, marble bridges which give passage towards the nearby northern section of the courtyard. In the centre ten marble steps, double lined between a large marble slab, lead to the upper entrance platform before the huge entrance portal of typical Chinese architectural construction. There are also two side stairs each of ten steps just like the double central approach, all of which lead to the platform. On the marble slab, on the approach to the platform, are legendary designs in relief which represent cloud insignias into which mountains penetrate and above which horses and dragons play.

The huge entrance portal is divided into an extended platform to the south and one to the north. Steps along the marble balustrade lead down into the sunken courtyard with its widespread opening before the main temple edifice, where is displayed a presentation of the highest type of Chinese temple or palace architecture. This great courtyard is granite paved, as is also the outer entrance compound into the actual temple section of the T'ai Miao. The entrance platform before the huge gate has a length of two hundred feet.

In the main section to the east and west there are also side buildings for preparatory needs or services for the ancestors; some large fayence ovens on these grounds served for burning the programmes and papers used at the sacrificial performances. Due north and south are stone roads which lead from the foot of the stairs of the entrance portal towards the raised platform in front of the main sanctuary. The stair approach to this platform is laid out in three sections: the lowest from the sunken courtyard has ten marble steps, the central section has six marble steps and the upper part has five marble steps. The divisional step approaches are again laid out with a central part of three square marble slabs, to the sides of which the double lined steps lead upwards. Each of

these sculptured marble slabs presents legendary designs in relief work; clouds, mountains and water are its principal features, while the lower slab has in addition three pairs of sculptured horses in relief. The central marble slab has, additionally, lions while the upper slab shows dragons flying towards the sun.

Looking above the fine imposing façade of the main temple, in the upper section between the architectural wood work just below the huge roof with its yellow glazed Imperial tiles, there is a large tablet with Chinese and Manchu inscriptions reading: T'ai Miao, *i.e.*, the Temple of Ancestral Supremacy. Crossing the platform and passing the huge entrance portals, one stands now in the Hall of Ancestral Worship. This hall with its lower stone base discloses towards its eastern, western and southern extremity, a palisade of wooden frames between which in proportionate distances are huge pine trunks, hundreds of years old and brought from afar. These wooden timbers, several feet in circumference, support the heavy roof of the edifice with its Imperial yellow tiles. In the inner section of this immense temple hall is a double line of eight big timbers each reaching from the stone floor to the small gilded squares with which the ceiling is finely decorated. On the stone floor to the east and west there are five such timbers on each side supporting the roof. These immense logs are seen in addition to the majestic timbers which, along the outer frame of the wooden enclosure of this building, support the heavy roof.

Over the extended area of the inner Hall, opposite the entrance portals, there is an altar-wall before which stands a long glass-enclosed case, inside of which are to be seen a number of metal sacrificial containers, also some white jade ornaments and gilded pitchers, all used for sacrificial purposes. In the rear of this case and before the altar-wall stand three very large wooden fauteil throne seats with embroidered upholstery. These seats are carved in their upper wooden frame work. Again before the show-case, with its paraphernalia, stands an altar-table in the centre of which stands a small blue sacrificial tablet with Chinese inscriptions. The inscriptions indicate the posthumous name of the Emperor to whom this particular sacrificial table is dedicated. But there also appears on this blue tablet the

name of his Empress in white painted characters, and of those Empresses who after the first and actual Empress had passed away were raised to the rank of Empress in succession. On some of the ancestral tablets there are indicated quite a number of Empresses who ruled.

Similar altar-tables, two to the right and two to the left of the central altar-table, and also two altar-tables along the east side and two altar-tables along the west side of this edifice, all in line, make a unit of nine Ancestral dedicatory tables with the sacrificial ancestral tablets on them. Each has similar large wooden throne fauteil chairs such as pertain to the central altar-tables. Also each of the nine altar-tables exhibits similar paraphernalia as the main altar-table. Each altar-table has in front a centrally placed incense bowl as well as two candlesticks, one of which stands to the right and the other to the left of the incense bowl. Nowhere are seen any images. There are also in this temple hall some miniature kiosks, ancient bronze vessels and other paraphernalia, which were used upon the occasion of the individual annual ancestral festival. The opening of the T'ai Miao coincided with the departure of the dethroned Manchu ruler Pu-Yi, who, as the Emperor Hsüan Tung, occupied the Dragon Throne of China up to 1912, when the rule of his House came to an end by the decree of abdication after an existence since A.D. 1644.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK

By HERBERT CHATLEY, D. SC. (LOND.).

In the course of the writer's lecture on the history of the days of the week, which is reproduced in the 1931 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (North-China Branch), attempt was made to sustain the following theses:—

(a) The planetary names of the days of the week antedate the general introduction of Christianity into the countries where they are still current.

(b) This series of names was introduced by the Romans, who obtained it from "Chaldean" astrologers shortly before the beginning of the Christian era.

(c) The remoter origin of the series may perhaps be looked for in the town of Harran.

During the writer's home leave in 1932, he took the opportunity of checking many of the references upon which the lecture was based and discovered a certain amount of cognate matter which may be of general interest.

In the first instance it should be noted that, as indicated in the lecture and now fully confirmed, the whole group of "Celtic" languages shows almost complete survival of the Latin weekday names, substantiating the writer's contention that the Celtic inhabitants of Western Europe must have received these names from the Romans sufficiently long before they were Christianized for the names to have proved almost unchangeable by the Christian influences to which they were exposed from the third century.¹

¹ It is rather remarkable that, to the best of the author's knowledge, the planetary week has left little trace in Eastern Europe. In the territories which are, or were until recently, under the sway of the Holy Orthodox Church, or Islam, the days of the week are known (except for Saturday and Sunday, which bear names alluding to the first as the Sabbath and to the second as the day of rest or devotion) by numbers. Since the planetary names are

The attached table shows the forms which are still current. With slight changes they can be traced back to the earliest written records of the peoples concerned.

With the exception of the three in parenthesis (two of which mean respectively "the day of rest" and "the Lord's day"), the connection of the Celtic forms with the Latin forms is complete and has only been slightly obscured by phonetic changes. It is noticeable that the Latin prototypes must have had the form "Dies lunae," etc., rather than the form "Lunae dies" which lies behind the modern Romance language forms.

The second item of interest is given by Dr. Fotheringham in his article on "The Calendar" which appears in the *Nautical Almanac* for 1931 (large version); he upholds the view of Cassius Dio (A.D. 200) as to the Egyptian origin of the system, on the ground that the duodecimal subdivision of the day and the night (24 in all) was a peculiarly Egyptian practice. The early Chaldean custom was a duodecimal subdivision of the whole day and night period (12 parts in all), which is of course inconsistent with the "planetary hour" system of deriving the week-day order. On the other hand the ancient Egyptian "week" was one of ten days, like that of the French Revolution. This matter requires further investigation and the facts are certainly obscured by the medley of astrological ideas of mixed origin which arose in Alexandria during the Macedonian and Roman control of Egypt.²

It is certainly rather strange that Cassius Dio should speak of the planetary week as "new," when Tibullus who lived 200 years earlier refers to it, at any rate as far as the day of Saturn is concerned. It is of course possible that the seven-day week which was certainly current

clearly referred to in the era of Constantine, one is obliged to presume that Ecclesiastical influence has suppressed them in the East, and presumably, they were not so firmly engrained in those countries before their Christianization as was the case in the West.

They do occur in Arabic astrological practice, but this presumably is to be traced to the adoption of Greek astrology by the Arabs.

² Dr. Fotheringham has just written to the author that he thinks there can be no doubt that the system is of Egyptian origin and was the work of one definite astrologer probably in the Second Century B.C. He says that the 24-hour day was used in Egypt from remote antiquity, and that he has recently found it in an Assyrian document of 700 B.C., and also in two Babylonian tablets. (Vide *The Observatory*, December, 1932).

TABLE OF WEEK-DAY NAMES.
CELTIC GROUP.

Language Weekday	Welsh	Cornish	Breton	Manx	Gaelic	Latin
Sunday	Dydd Sul	Dêdh Sûl	Disûe	[Jy-doonee]	[Di Domhnaich]	Dies Solis
Monday	Dydd Llun	De Lûn	Dilûn	Jyluan	Di Luain	Dies Lunae
Tuesday	Dydd Mawrth	De Merh	Dimeurs	Jemayrt	Di Mairt	Dies Martis
Wednesday	Dydd Mercher	De Merher	Dimercher	Jecrean	[Di Ciedain]	Dies Mercurii
Thursday	Dydd Iau	Deth Yov	Diziau	Jecrean	Dir Daoine	Dies Iovis
Friday	Dydd Gwener	Didh Gwemar	Digwener	Jyheiney	Di h-aoine	Dies Veneris
Saturday	Dydd Sadwrn	De Sadarn	Disadorn	Jysarn	Di-Sathuirne	Dies Saturni

TEUTONIC GROUP.

Language Weekday	Old Norse	Old Frisian	High German	Mid Dutch	Anglo Saxon	Prototype (Gothic)
Sunday	Sunnudagr	Sonnadei	Sunnûndag	Sondach	Sunnandæg	(omit "day")
Monday	Mánadagr	Monadei	Mánindag	Manendach	Monandæg	Sunnuns
Tuesday	Týrsdagr	Tysdei	Ciesdac	Disendach	Twesdæg	Mannins
Wednesday	Óðinsdagr	Wernsdei	[Mittaweche]	Woensdach	Wodnesdæg	Tiw
Thursday	Þorsdagr	Thunresdei	Donarestac	Donderdach	Dumresdæg	Wuotan
Friday	Freijudagr	Frigensdei	Friatac	Vridach	Frige-dæg	Thonar
Saturday	[Laugardagr]	Saterdei	Sambaztac	Saterdag	Sacternesdæg	Freyja
						[Sabbato]

ROMANCE GROUP.

Language Weekday	French	Spanish	Italian	Late Latin	Meaning	Notes
Sunday	Dimanche	Domingo	Domenica	Dominica	The Lord's	So in Gaelic
Monday	Lundi	Lunes	Lunedì	Lunae-dies	The Day of the Moon	These gods
Tuesday	Mardi	Martes	Martedì	Martidies	Mars's day	exactly corres-
Wednesday	Mercredi	Miercoles	Mercoledì	Mercuridies	Mercury's day	pond to the
Thursday	Jeudi	Jueves	Giovedì	Jovidies	Jove's day	Norse gods in the
Friday	Vendredi	Viernes	Venerdì	Veneridies	Venus's day	Teutonic group
Saturday	Samedi	Sabado	Sabato	Sabbatum	The Sabbath	So in German

among the Jews for some centuries prior to the Christian era and was, according to Josephus, to some extent adopted by the Romans, may have been associated, in respect to the Sabbath alone, with Saturn. The latter (as a god) was identified with Kronos, who again was identified with El, the Phoenician god who again is comparable if not identical with Yahweh. If so, Tibullus may have only had the Sabbath in mind and not the planetary week. Ovid alludes quite definitely to the Syrian seven day week. It is rather striking in regard to this idea that the astrological series necessarily commences with Saturn. John Lydus (A.D. 500) speaks of Egyptian and Chaldean ascription of the seventh day to Saturn. Philo-Byblius (quoted by Porphyry and Eusebius) distinctly asserts that El was associated with the planet Saturn after his death, which traditionally occurred about two thousand years before the Christian era.

A third aspect of the problem is in respect to the Sun worship of the Romans which developed in the first three centuries of the Christian era and is definitely associable with the popularization of the planetary week, and is also connected with Syria. Antoninus Pius founded the great temple of the Sun (Malek-Baal) at Baalbek (Heliopolis) in about A.D. 150 and the cult reached its highest degree under Aurelian, who made "Sol Invictus" the supreme object of worship after his capture of Zenobia at Palmyra in A.D. 274. The Constantine Edict of A.D. 321, which stabilized the Christian week with Sunday as the principal day, speaks of the "Venerable day of the Sun" and although the worship of "Sol Invictus" was rather that of Maxentius, the adversary of Constantine, than that of Constantine himself, the latter had "Sol Invictus" inscribed on his coins. Prior to the time of Vespasian (A.D. 70), the cultural contact with Syria was much less continuous than it then became, but it was sufficient from the time of Alexander the Great's Asiatic campaigns for Syrian beliefs to be transmitted to Europe. Mithraism (Cumont in his *Mysteries of Mithra* associates the planetary week with Mithraism) appears rather too late to be a serious factor in the problem, except in so far as a general atmosphere of Sun worship in the second and third centuries would help to popularize a planetary system of reckoning time. Christmas day itself was originally the birthday of the Sun and was arbitrarily taken to be that of Christ.

A fourth line of enquiry is as to the remoter origin of the planetary week. An obscure reference by Chwolson in his monumental work on the *Sabeans and Sabeanism* of Harran, refers to Eusebius as having stated in his *Praeparatio Evangelica* that the planetary day system was due to Ostânes, a Persian sage who accompanied Xerxes on his Greek expedition (480 B.C.). The writer attempted to trace this reference but could only find the following passage (Eusebius, *Pr. Ev.*, Book V, Chap. XIV, Seguiet's French translation):

"Apollo says further in his oracles:—'It is necessary to invoke Mercury and the Sun, according to these rules, to know the day consecrated to the Sun; the moon when her day shall appear; then Cronus, Rhea; finally Venus, by silent invocations of which the greatest of magi is the discoverer, the king of seven sounds, that all know.'

"The others exclaiming, 'It is Ostanes that you refer to!'

"Also he adds, 'Certainly, always call each of the gods seven times.'"

It may be that Chwolson's translation of Eusebius differs from that of Seguiet. It is certainly difficult to draw from this passage a definite ascription of the invention of the planetary week to Ostânes, but it does contain suggestions as to planetary days of at least a considerable traditional antiquity. [Should "Rhea" be "Ares," to complete the planetary seven?]³

Chwolson's main sources as to Harranian belief are the Mohammedan writers, whose testimony is of course too late to bear on the remoter origin.⁴ His earliest Islamic reference (Vol. II, p. 111) is to a ninth century writer (Th'abit ben Qorrah) who wrote a book on the Harranean Sabeans of which one chapter is called "Book concerning the distribution of the week days according to the seven planets." He does, however, give one most interesting reference from En Nadim, quoting from Abu Said Wahb ben Ibrahim, an early Arabic author on the Harraneans:—

"The first day of the week is devoted to the Sun, called Ilios (Helios); the second to the Moon, called Sîn; the third to Mars, called Ares; the fourth to Mercury, called Nabuq; the fifth to Jupiter, called Bâl; the sixth to Venus, called Balthe; the seventh to Saturn, called Kronos."

(Chwolson also quotes Shahrastani in respect to the Planetary hours as being observed by the Harraneans).

³ Rhea was the wife of Cronus, so that the association of the names is quite natural.

⁴ Sayce (P.S.B.A., III) speaks of the antiquity of stellar beliefs in Kharsân in connection with Nebo.

The striking thing about this reference is the mixture of Greek and Babylonian names for the planets, which certainly suggests a long tradition and implies a definite connection of the Harraneans with the series of temples to the Moon god Sin, which rose and fell at Harran during the two millenia before Christ. Ur (from which, according to Genesis, Abraham went to Harran) was also a well known centre of Sin or Nannar worship but it is 600 miles from Harran and Biblical scholars are rather doubtful as to this tradition. The Arabian authors state that, prior to the destruction of the Harranean cult in the thirteenth century (A.D.), there was at that place a group of planetary temples, each with a peculiar geometrical form. Whether these were quite separate structures or combined into one, like the seven-storied Ziggurat of Borsippa (near Babylon) is not quite clear, but it shows that Harran had developed or inherited a complex septenary system from Babylon. Herodotus (I, 181) speaks of the temple at Babylon as eight-storied, but makes special reference to a shrine to Belus (=Marduk =Jupiter) at the top, so that the actual number of stages may only have been seven. Nebuchadretzar's inscriptions referring to the reconstruction of the Borsippa temple speak of it as the "Temple of the Seven Lights of Heaven and Earth" and if, as Rawlinson states (*Five Great Monarchies*), the planetary series was the normal Saturn-Moon arrangement, the shrine of Sin would have been at the apex, but in fact the building as a whole was sacred to Nebo, i.e., Mercury (600 B.C.).⁵ This septenary idea lends some support to the hypothesis that the planetary week may have actually originated in Babylonia in patriarchal times, in which case the Jewish week would be the same thing, purged of "heathenism," but it has still to be shown that the artificial week day name series really goes back to those remote times.

Another line of approach is the critical study of the institution of the Sabbath. Apart from its (possibly late) association with the creation story and the ten commandments, the Sabbath does not figure very much in early Jewish history and some students (See *Sabbat*

⁵ This temple at Borsippa (E-zida) existed before the time of Khammurabi (2000 B.C.) but it is not clear if it was peculiar to the seven planets before the time of Nebuchadretzar. Probably it was, in which case the septenary principle is carried back to the time of Abraham.

und Woche im Alten Testament, Meinhold, 1905; *Siebenzahl u. Sabbat bei den Babyloniern u. im Alt. Test.*, Hehn, 1901; *Israel and Babylon*, Wardle) incline to the view that the Sabbath was originally the day of Full Moon, thus making the New Moon and Full Moon the principal sacred days, as in China. This would incidentally harmonize well with an origin from a Sin cult, but is of course rather hypothetical. One may thus conjecture that the week arose from an arbitrary mystical modification of a previous truly lunar system.

The standard literature of European astrology (of which the basis is Claudius Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, about A.D. 150) provides no very relevant data. The week day series of the planets does occur as the system for the "correspondences" of the planets to specific "decans" (segments of ten degrees of the zodiac) of the zodiacal signs. Thus Lilly, professedly following Ptolemy but probably deriving from Julius Firmicus Maternus, a contemporary of Constantine, gives the following series for the middle decans of the twelve signs:—

Aries Sun	Cancer...Mercury	Libra Saturn	Capricorn .. Mars
Taurus Moon	Leo .....Jupiter	Scorpio Sun	Aquarius Mercury
Gemini Mars	Virgo .....Venus	Sagittarius..Moon	Pisces.....Jupiter

(This series of correspondences was known in Harran in the Moslem period.)

If the first decans in each sign are taken instead of the middle decans the series starts with Mars, which is of interest since the sign of Aries is the astrological "day house" of Mars in the Ptolemaic astrology. Humboldt (*Kosmos*, Vol. III and Notes) inclined to the view, already expressed by Julius Firmicus Maternus, that the planetary day series arose in relation to this series of planetary allocation to the decans rather than from the planetary hours, and he alludes to a zodiac discovered by Bianchini in this connection. It seems improbable that so technical an origin is to be looked for, especially as the series is discontinuous. It is also of interest to note the discordance between Julius Firmicus and Cassius Dio who were almost contemporaries. Ptolemy's great astronomical work *The Almagest* or *Syntaxis Mathematica* throws no light on the subject, save for its clear reference to the "Saturn-to-Moon" series as the "ancient order."⁶

⁶ There is an Indian method of arriving at the week-day series by using the planets in the reverse order, *i.e.*, Moon to Saturn, and applying them to *sixtieths* of a day, so leaving four

Under the Seleucid successors of Alexander, Babylonian astrology became far more precise than before, and it may be that the week day system arose in that period. Fathers Epping, Strassmeier and Kugler, whose writings on late Babylonian astronomy have cleared up much of the former vagueness, have shown that the "planetary years" (periods of solar years in which the planets return to the same solar "aspects" in the same part of the zodiac) were correctly deduced in Seleucid times and one has the impression that the introduction of Greek mathematics was the means of developing the old Babylonian records into valuable generalizations.

Still another line of investigation is as to the date at which the planets first became grouped as seven and associated with (or identified as) the gods whose names they bore. This involves the whole history of astrology in Babylonia, from which the Greek system later sprang. The early Greek writers, such as Herodotus (say 440 B.C.) were aware of the Babylonian astronomical knowledge but the actual full intercommunication of ideas seems to have commenced in the Seleucid period following the death of Alexander (323 B.C.). Berossus (250 B.C.) is specially mentioned as the intermediary.

Unfortunately the Babylonian records themselves only commence to be of value at this same late period, the tablets found at Abu-Habbah (ancient Sippar) being the principal source of information. The planetary years (alluded to above) mentioned in these tablets of course imply several hundred years of previous observation. The earlier (principally Assyrian) records of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. do not convey very much information except indirectly. They indicate for example that the moon's motion was so little known that new moons had to be watched for and eclipse predictions proved inaccurate. Observations of Venus appear to have been made in 1921 B.C., but when Mercury (the most difficult to discover) was first observed and when the seven were grouped as such is quite uncertain. (They are so grouped in the Borsippa Ziggurat but possibly not before 600 B.C., although Khammurabi had a temple on this site.) A curious order of the five planets (Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury and Mars) was established prior to the seventh

over each day, which advances the planets of the first sixtieths in the right order. Possibly the Babylonians may have used this sixtieth part of a day as an astrological unit.

century B.C. This order is, by a remarkable coincidence, that of the gravitational pulls on the Sun of the respective planets, and the enthusiastic antiquarian can speculate if he pleases on the Babylonian astrologers having deduced this order as that of the respective "influences" of the planets. Such a one is scarcely to be encouraged, as the actual influence of the planets on the Sun is rather to be sought in the "tidal" forces,⁷ which are, however, so excessively minute that it is almost certain that they are overwhelmingly masked by the sun's own fluctuations of energy, just as on earth the minute barometric air tide caused by the moon is rendered of no real importance by the fluctuations of air pressure due to the irregularities of the earth's surface and the unsymmetric distribution of the oceans.

To recapitulate as to the remoter origin, the essential point to be established if the origin of the planetary week is to be pushed back to early history is that the twenty-four-hour system (or perhaps a sexagesimal system) of subdividing the day (at least for divination) and the geocentric Saturn-Moon series must be shown to have existed in such early times. This cannot be done as yet and must therefore remain speculative.

APPENDIX.

Apparently the first clear Chinese reference to the week day order of the planets is in Siu-fa's (A.D. 1561) *T'ien Yüan Li Li* (天元歷理) which gives to the 28 resting places (宿 *Hsü*) of the moon the planetary allocations in the *week day* order, commencing with Jupiter. As mentioned above, this order can be derived from the ascending speed series (Moon-Saturn) by jumping *four* places (not three, as in the planetary hour series, which uses the descending speed order of the planets). If 28 is divided into 60 it goes twice, leaving four over, so that if the planets are allotted in the ascending speed order to sixtieths of a day, the successive days will have their first subdivisions allotted to the planets in the week day

⁷ By another remarkable "coincidence," after 400 B.C. the planets Mercury and Saturn were interchanged and this later Chaldean order is the order of the tidal forces of the planets on the Sun.

Dr. Fotheringham says he thinks these Chaldean orders were based on the white to red series of colours of the planets.

order. This is either an astrological invention or a survival of an old Babylonian method transmitted through India. (See T. Fergusson: *Chinese Chronology and Cycles*, Shanghai, 1880, p. 206, and G. Schlegel: *Uranographie Chinoise*, The Hague, 1875, Vol. I, p. 622).

The Seven Planets are said to be first alluded to in the "Shun-Tien" section of the *Shu Ching* as 七政 (*Ch'i Chêng*), "The Seven Regulators," but this is dubious. The traditional Chinese order is Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus and Mercury, which is artificially derived from the "Five Element" System.

Schlegel (I, p. 645) refers to the fourth invisible "planet" *Ch'i* (氣)—the other three being the moon's two nodes and its apogee—as corresponding to our cycle of 28 Julian years and quotes a Chinese text which says:—

"The 'Ch'i' is produced by the intercalary moon. In 28 years there are ten intercalary moons, and during this time the 'Ch'i' has made one revolution around the heavens. The intercalary moon is determined by the year, hence 'Ch'i' is the 'residue' of Jupiter." (高厚蒙求, 七曜經星大小形體, 四餘). Note: The word "residue" (餘 *Yü*) is the technical name for these invisible points.

Schlegel proceeds to say that by means of this cycle, one can distribute the days of the year among the 28 planetary houses (宿); one gives to each day one of the names of these houses, which gives four houses to each of the planets, corresponding in effect to our days of the week, and in the same order.

The above Chinese passage is rather obscure. In 28 years the intercalation is only approximately correct and the only reason for the reference to intercalation appears to lie in the mystic number 10. It appears clear that all these "residues" were introduced from Turkestan in the T'ang dynasty. Hsing Yün-lou (A.D. 1573) states so, and two of the "residues" (the moon's nodes) bear well known Hindu names (Rahu and Ketu). Hsing Yün-lou mentions them as part of the Brahmin (*Po-lo-mên*) astronomical rules.

Father Souciet (*Observations Mathematiques*, Paris, 1732) states that this *Ch'i* cycle of 28 years which establishes the week day system was adopted by Li Chun-fang, a mathematician to T'ai Tsung, the second emperor of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 629) and that it was described in a work called *Chiu chih* which was translated in A.D. 718 by an Indian astronomer named Kutana (Fergusson, p. 222).

THE TRANSLATION OF THE FRAGMENTS OF THE NESTORIAN WRITINGS IN CHINA

By P. Y. SAEKI

[Professor Saeki's translation of *The Hsü-T'ing Mi-Shi-So Sutra* or, Jesus-Messiah-Sutra appeared in the preceding *Journal* (Vol. LXIII—1932) with an introductory note by Dr. Evan Morgan. The English translations of two of the remaining three Nestorian *logidia* are now presented. These are called *I-shên-lun* (一神論) consisting of (a) *Yü-ti-erh* (喻第二); (b) *I-t'ien-lun-ti-i* (一天論第一). The third and last, *Shih-tsun-pu-shih-lun* (世尊布施論) is reserved for later publication. The collotyped Chinese text of these, as well as of the *Hsü-T'ing Mi-Shi-So Sutra*, was published by Dr. Haneda of Kyoto in 1931. The publisher's name and address are given as 日本京都市左京區北白川小倉町五〇番地. 東方文化學院京都研究所. 箕田辨治 (Mr. Minoda).—*Editor.*]

THE TEXT NO. I.

A Discourse on Monotheism.

(The Parable Part II)

- (1) All things manifest the one God.
- (2) All things without exception are, therefore, no other than the one God.
- (3) Every thing that is made, without exception, is like the manifestation thereof.
- (4) (And) if what was made is like the Manifestation, then all things that are, manifest the one God alike.
- (5) On account of this, it can be known that all things are made by the one God.
- (6) (And) there are things visible as well as things invisible, which have been all created by this one God.

(7) (And) from that time (of creation) until the present all things that have been created by the one God are manifestly shown.

(8) This will account for Heaven being made to remain at ease and Earth being made safe until now without change.

(9) There is neither pillar nor prop to support Heaven.

(10) Unless the one God does so, how can heaven remain so long without falling from above?

(11) This is due to no other than the mysterious and wonderful power of the one God.

(12) Were this not for the action of the one God, who could have supported (it) and have prevented it perpetually from falling?

(13) From this (fact) we may conclude that heaven can stand alone securely because of the Power of this one God.

(14) If an illustration is given, you will know that this divinely mysterious Power of the one God is nothing but the Power of God Himself.

(15) And consequently we know that heaven can stand alone securely, although it has neither beam nor post.

(16) Moreover, even when heaven appears to be standing alone securely without the help of any beam or post, nevertheless, we know that heaven is not standing alone securely, and that it is supported by the great power of this one God.

(17) That is to say, even if we were to see either a heavenly post or a heavenly beam, we should know that the power of this one God does require neither beam and post nor fence and wall (for support) at all.

(18) Man at present is considered to be at a place of rest betwixt Heaven and Earth. Man, however, has no place of rest.

(19) On account of this, this (world) may be said to be a place of restlessness.

(20) To place oneself securely (in this world) may be likened to one trying to place oneself securely upon the water.

(21) Now, where and how could one place oneself securely upon water?

(22) Or could any one place oneself securely in the air?

(23) Then, everything can not but fall to destruction.

(24) (Or) were the wind to drive and carry along all things, not a single thing would be seen.

(25) But the power of God exists, and by which all things without exception were made according to His will.

(26) For instance, it is like a man shooting an arrow.

(27) We see only the arrow fall, but we do not see the archer himself.

(28) Although we do not see the archer, we know that this arrow can not come of itself, and that there needs must be some one who shot it.

(29) For that reason, we know that by virtue of the Divine power of the one God heaven and earth are made neither to crumble nor to fall, and that, because of this Divine power, they will remain steadfast for ever and ever.

(30) Although we do not see the upholder (of the world), we do know that a divine mysterious upholder (of the world) must exist.

(31) For instance, as soon as the impetus given to an arrow by the archer is exhausted, the arrow must fall to the ground.

(32) Likewise, if the Divine power were not working, heaven and earth must needs fall to pieces.

(33) But, by virtue of this Divine power, we know that heaven and earth can not decay.

(34) And (we know that) heaven and earth are nothing but that which exists by virtue of the power of the one God.

(35) Heaven does not fall, and consequently we know that the mysterious power of this one God is infinite and can not be understood completely.

(36) Such Divine power of this one God is possessed by no other gods.

(37) (And) there truly exists the only one God from the beginning.

(38) Though He himself is invisible, yet there has been, indeed, two manifestations (of the One Godhead).

(39) For instance, these may be likened to one's right and left hands or legs.

(40) But there are no such distinctions of before and after or of upper and lower (between them).

(41) They are so alike that one can not be distinguished from the other.

(42) Likewise, the one Godhead begat the other one (person of the Godhead) out of one and the same substance and form.

(43) With this idea somewhat adjusted, we may say that there can be no such distinction as left and right nor before and after, nor upper and lower.

(44) Now, this one God entirely takes (the form of) one single Being, and there can not be, indeed, any second or a third (Being).

(45) He is not created, and there can be no master-artist.

(46) Nor can there be any one who can apprehend Him, nor, indeed, any who created Him.

(47) Although we can not see this one God who resides in, and presides over, Heaven and Earth, yet we can see clearly that He holds Heaven and Earth and abundantly provides for all living beings without exception.

(48) For instance, as there is but one master for one house, so is there one soul for one body.

(49) If a house has more than one master, then the house can not do any good.

(50) If a man's body has more than one soul, then the man can not do good.

(51) The soul of a man, therefore, can neither be two, nor three.

(52) For instance, there can be only one master in one house.

(53) There can not be two masters in one house, nor can there be three masters therein.

(54) Likewise, there can be only one God in the universe, as there can neither be two nor be three (gods).

(55) The one God exists in the universe; but He is invisible just as the soul existing in the body of man is invisible.

(56) The soul existing in man can never be taken a view thereof. Likewise, (the one God) in the universe can not be seen.

(57) The soul exists in a human body, and, in consequence, every man wishes to take a view thereof.

(58) But the Holy one of Great wisdom is (so invisible as to be) equal to pure Emptiness itself, and can not be taken (a view thereof).

(59) This only one God is present everywhere all over the universe in the same manner as the soul of man pervades the whole of his body, indulging to do as it pleases.

(60) There is the only one God in the Universe. He dwells in Heaven which is the world of non-tangibility.

(61) But this one God neither need be in any one place, nor be attached to any place.

(62) In the world of non-tangibility one point of space may be two points of space at the same time, whilst one point in a period of time may be equally but the same point at the beginning of a second period of time.

(63) A point of space in the world of tangibility, for instance, is like the point between this place and Persia or that point between Persia and Fu-lin (*i.e.* Ephraim).

(64) A period of time in the world of non-tangibility is like the Holy master's reformation of public morals by His influence, which is the same to-day as it ever was.

(65) From this, we may also say that the world of non-tangibility is no other than the world of non-action and non-creation, and that there can be no distinction between a first and a second period of time (in that world).

(66) This only one God, therefore, is of the world of non-tangibility and of non-action and non-creation.

(67) But it should not be inquired whether all things in the universe belong to the world of non-tangibility or to that of non-action and non-creation or to that of non-space and non-time.

(68) Even if such an inquiry be made concerning the whereabouts of the one God, indeed, it can not be known.

(69) This one God is in the world of non-tangibility, and in that of non-action and non-creation.

(70) Nor need you inquire when this one God was created or when He caused Himself to be created. Even if you should ask such questions you would not get them answered.

(71) Continual existence is non-extinction, and continual extinction is non-existence.

(72) (And) the dwelling place of the one God is in the very continual existence of all things in the universe.

(73) This one God is of non-creation, and He is of continual existence and of exhaustlessness.

(74) Wherever God is there is His Holy Son always.

(75) Though invisible, this Holy Son, indeed, is with the One God throughout all time.

(76) In the making of "Sûtras" and "Vinaya" there is, indeed, no distinction made between (them).

(77) Each Person (of Godhead) is Holiness itself, and is, indeed, exhaustlessness itself.

(78) All things invisible and incorporeal in the Universe are also created by the Lord of Heaven. And they are all to be disposed by the Lord of Heaven.

(79) Of all things that exist, some things are all visible, whilst other things are invisible, which nevertheless, actually exist.

(80) For instance, one may strive to see the soul of man, yet no one can see it.

(81) Man's possessing desire to see (the soul) seems to show that man has also a spirit or mind.

(82) All men without exception will see that these grow together out of one and the same root.

(83) For instance, it is like two kinds of corn growing out of one and the same root.

(84) For instance, one human being with both a spirit and a soul will make one complete human being.

(85) If a human being has not a human body, he is not complete. Likewise, if he has not a soul then, as a human being he is not complete.

(86) Nor is he complete if he has not a spirit besides.

(87) Nothing visible in the universe can be complete of itself.

(88) The things invisible in the universe, however, can be complete of themselves.

(89) All things in the universe are of two kinds, growing as they are out of one and the same root.

(90) If any one should inquire of you how do you know that all things are manifestations of the one God or where do invisible things exist, you may answer thus:

(91) There are many things in the universe that are invisible.

(92) (And) they are all made by the one God so invisible as they are.

(93) But if any one should inquire how many things and how many men are created (by God) then answer:

(94) All things in the universe may be traced back to four elements.

THE TEXT NO. II.

The Discourse on the One Ruler of the Universe.

(Lit., "S'astras on one Deva," Part I).

- (1) It is asked, "what man is made of?"
- (2) It is answered, ("man is made) of the things visible and invisible."
- (3) What does constitute the visible and what the invisible?
- (4) The visible (things) are those things made of the four elements in the universe.
- (5) Earth, water, fire and air are all created by the power of God.
- (6) It is asked, "what then are the four elements made of?"
- (7) It is answered that there is not a single thing in the Universe that is not created.
- (8) And that there is not a single thing that is not created by the one God.
- (9) But if there had not been (in the beginning) this One God in the Universe, then there would not have been any one to make a request for (the creation of) the Universe.
- (10) For instance, it is like building a house. The first thing to do is to go to a carpenter's and request him what to do.
- (11) Such may be what the one God did, and what He undertook to do came at once to existence at His will.
- (12) Being compassionate to all the living beings, He manifested Himself unto the world.
- (13) And, even in the act of compassion toward all living beings, the One God is manifested clearly and distinctly.
- (14) From this it must be concluded that the whole universe is the creation of this One God.
- (15) The Divine Power of God may be something like the wind.
- (16) It is not in the form of flesh, but of spirit, and it can not be seen even a little by human eyes.
- (17) But that which the Divine power of God brings forth and that which the Divine power of God calls into existence may be easily known.
- (18) But any other thing (than the Divine Power) can nowhere create anything whatever.

(19) And how could any other thing be made after that Likeness of His?

(20) All things in this great and prosperous universe have the one God placed in them.

(21) All things in the Universe share the Divine power of God in common.

(22) But neither wild beasts nor insects nor deer understand speech, and on that account, they are said to have no mental faculties.

(23) Of all the created things, each of but two is not, or two out of three are not, similar to each other or to one another.

(24) And not every thing in the Universe is visible to the human eye. And consequently, in his suspicion man cherishes thoughts that even other gods (than the True God) may also create all things distinctly after that Likeness of His.

(25) Even if there were still other kinds of gods, yet it is plain that none of them could ever create any thing after that likeness of His.

(26) From this (fact) it may be known clearly that any other god (than the One God) did not create any things after that likeness of His.

(27) All things both visible and invisible, therefore, are of two kinds. And it is clear that they are all the creation by One Being.

(28) For instance, all human beings are of two kinds.

(29) If they were but of one kind, nothing further could be said about them!

(30) If they were but one, nothing further could be said about them! If they were but one, nothing further could be said!

(31) Without creating the two kinds (of all things) at first, how God could ever have been able to produce all men and things after their kinds, no one can tell.

(32) The whole universe are from the two kinds. Even God separates Himself so as to make of the two kinds, placing One (Person of Godhead) in each. Likewise, all creation is of two kinds and two natures.

(33) One nature of the human life in one world, for instance, is that which consists of the body and the spirit.

(34) And again there is the second (nature in the) world, which resembles that which exists in a world where living beings consist only of souls.

(35) With what shall all mankind under Heaven have to join?

(36) The human body has only a limited existence, but the soul shall enjoy continual existence, and will suffer neither injury nor damage.

(37) For instance, the soul of man is immortal.

(38) It is the divine power of God that gives life (to man).

(39) And as soon as the soul returns to him, man flows and moves.

(40) Both the soul and the spirit are made up of "the five attributes."

(41) They, therefore, can see all, can hear all, and can speak and move at will.

(42) As soon as the soul gives life to man, nothing becomes invisible to the human eye, and no action impossible to the human hand, and no movement impossible to the human legs.

(43) For instance, both one and two mutually depend on each other.

(44) Likewise, the sun and fire are two things with one and the same nature.

(45) For this season fire often comes out of the sun.

(46) (The sun and fire) are of one and the same nature with different attributes.

(47) But the sun does not burn away (as fire does).

(48) But, by its own light, the sun gets its own brilliance.

(49) Only by burning, can fire get its own light; but if fuel is not added, it can not burn to attain its own brilliance.

(50) Hence we know that fire itself is not self-illuminating.

(51) For instance, though the sun is of one and the same nature as fire, yet the sun is self-burning and self-illuminating, whilst fire can not get its brilliance without fuel.

(52) And in like manner, by the divine power of God we can discriminate diversity in similarity and similarity in diversity.

(53) And the Divine power of God without the assistance of human power brings every thing to completion by a natural way.

(54) And all this is accomplished by the Divine Power of the one God.

(55) For instance, it is like the soul of man, which can not be perfect with "the five attributes" alone.

(56) Furthermore, without "the five attributes" the Soul itself can not exist at all.

(57) There is absolutely no other creator.

(58) Therefore, only by securing the hand of "the five attributes," can mankind under Heaven enjoy continual existence and non-extinction, whilst all things in the world are brought to perfection.

(59) This may be likened unto the soul being clothed with the five tastes.

(60) Or it may be likened to "the five attributes" making up the soul, the delicious flavour of man.

(61) And the soul (of man) seems to know that likeness of His.

(62) For instance, it is said: The dwelling of the soul in a human body is like a corn being first placed in the ground whereby it grows and bears seeds after.

(63) As "the five attributes" are to the human soul, so is the ground to the corn.

(64) A grain of wheat produces the seed, but the seed will again produce corn.

(65) Both the corn and the seed, however, will grow each in a natural way, requiring neither manure nor water.

(66) When corn is put into a cellar after it is reaped, it will again grow when exposed to the warm wind even without manure or water.

(67) Likewise, the soul in the body does not require either food or drink. Nor does it need clothing.

(68) When Heaven and earth shall pass away, and when all the dead shall rise again, surely the human soul shall return again to the body consisting of "the five attributes."

(69) And will be perfected in a natural way, requiring neither their food nor clothing any more.

(70) And will enjoy the happiness of eternal-existence and "the idle sports of spiritual penetration" (*i.e.* riddhi vikridita), being free from any material (destitute) which may press the body.

(71) For instance, such happiness may be like that of "flying immortals" (*i.e.* Angels) in Heaven.

(72) It is like "the idle sports" (*i.e.* vikridita) of a soul in the full enjoyment of happiness.

(73) The happiness in that world may be likened to the happiness of a soul doing "the idle sports" while in the human body (in this world).

(74) Such a soul as that taking a human appearance seems to dwell in the abode of Happiness in (this) world.

(75) But if a soul be united with "the five attributes" and appear in this world taking the form of man, then he can not but enjoy the same happiness here as he would over there.

(76) For instance, this would be like a soul taking the form of a human body and dwelling here in this world.

(77) And, indeed, it may also be said that this is nothing but "the five attributes" taking a form (of man) and dwelling in this world, whilst the soul is enjoying "sorrowless happiness" in that world.

(78) And all such is what the divine power of "the Lord of Heaven" caused to be.

(79) As observed above, what the flavour is to the food is what the soul is to the body.

(80) If you venerate "The Lord of Heaven" respectfully, all things will be revealed to you clearly and distinctly.

(81) The doings of all mankind in this world shall be meted to recompensate to the soul according to what is done here in this life.

(82) A soul and "the five attributes" join together and take form of man, and will ever abide in the world as if they were host and guest.

(83) If the soul happened to find abundant wealth somewhere, and advances to "the five attributes" what he may have previously borrowed for himself, none could ever be made the poorer. You must not doubt this (truth) one way or another.

(84) If "the five attributes" are poor and can not redeem the debt, then the soul being rich, will give of its wealth to "the five attributes."

(85) If "the five attributes" are poor, whilst the soul is both rich and full of food, then without doubt the former will not need to redeem the debt.

(86) From such discourse as this it may be said that "the five attributes" are poor but the soul is rich. And this is, indeed, doubtlessly true, for the reason that "the five attributes" are only of clay; while the soul is not so in the least.

(87) A human body seems to consist of both the "five attributes" and the soul forming one complete being.

(88) The knowledge (*i.e.* wisdom) of God is the knowledge (*i.e.* wisdom) you have been given (by God). But it is not the knowledge (*i.e.* wisdom) given to this world.

(89) Nevertheless, both the knowledge (*i.e.* wisdom) of God and the soul that was given by God precede the knowledge (*i.e.* wisdom) of this world, and therefore may be called the knowledge (*i.e.* wisdom) of that world.

(90) Furthermore, one may know that He will be in future as He is at present, and, indeed, as He was in the past.

(91) Therefore, in His previous existence, He dwelt not in the womb.

(92) Hence we know that He existed long before He was born from the mother's womb.

(93) It is taught that any one who wants to work must do so whilst in this world.

(94) A man's work in that world will only take effect at the time of his being born again into this world.

(95) Even though he be born thus into this world, yet indeed he will not enjoy eternal existence here.

(96) Man is, however, born to this world in order that he may prepare himself for existence in that (eternal) world by the result of sowing good seeds.

(97) For he that seeks that world may attain it, if he sows the seed first whilst in this world before he departs therefrom.

(98) But where is that world really to be found? It is to be found right here in this world.

(99) What the mother's womb is to her child is what this world is to that world.

(100) Now, the consequence of all things must follow what is done beforehand.

(101) If any man seeks (to enter) that world, he must seek to do so here previously while he can in this world.

(102) Let all this be preached clearly and distinctly.

(103) It is only the intelligence of human beings in the world that enables them to perceive clearly whatsoever their eyes may see.

(104) There are also numberless speeches and voices or sounds which their ears want to hear distinctly.

(105) Likewise, there are numberless kinds of scent which their noses want to smell distinctly.

(106) There are numberless kinds of food which their mouths likewise want to taste.

(107) There are numberless kinds of actions which their hands want to do.

(108) What is said here about "the five attributes" is not applicable to what comes to existence in this world.

(109) It is only applicable to what comes to existence in the mother's womb.

(110) Even if the said "five attributes" should appear unexpectedly, they would, nevertheless, come in perfection without lacking anything in the least out of the mother's womb.

(111) It seems that each and all the human beings (born) in the world were formed in the mother's womb.

(112) In no other place can any human being be formed.

(113) If a human being is to be formed in this world at all, it is first formed in the mother's womb.

(114) Likewise, if there be any who seek (to enter) that world they must do so whilst in this world.

(115) If he can not do (good deeds) whilst in this world, he cannot do so even if he would enter that place.

(116) All good and meritorious deeds must necessarily be done here in this world. These can not be done in that world.

(117) You should neither kneel down to demons nor worship them.

(118) You should do good deeds whilst you are here in this world as you can not do so in that place.

(119) Be sure not to act contrary to what is commanded by the one God.

(120) You can do good deeds whilst you are in this place, but not in that place.

(121) For instance, if you want to do meritorious deeds you should first of all do them here in this world, for you can not do them when you go to that place..

(122) Meritorious deeds of giving things to others in charity can be done only here in this world.

(123) In that place, even if you wish to give a thing in charity, you certainly can not do so!

(124) Being "awakened to the intelligence," one should be generous and magnanimous; not be narrow-minded.

(125) Now you can be generous and liberal in your acts only whilst you are here in this world. You can not be so in that world.

(126) Therefore, consider well, and try to get rid from your heart of all malice, resentment, envy, revenge, hatred and prejudice.

(127) You can get rid of all these things whilst you are here in this world, but you can not do so in that world.

(128) You may purify both your mind and body, and worship and adore (God) with reverence or observe His disciplinary rules with strictness, violating none of them whilst you are here in this world, but not in that world.

(129) If you worship the Lord of Heaven with the utmost sincerity all your sins will be forgiven.

(130) You can worship God here in this world, but not in that place.

(131) If there be any one who is going to depart from this world, let him sow the seeds whilst in this world, so that he may fully reap their consequences in that world. But in that world his sowing would not be of any avail.

(132) In that world you can enjoy happiness and ease only, and you will see nothing else.

(133) This one God is a self-sanctifying God. His power of self-sanctification is superior to all things that were created.

(134) He provided thus for all mankind, before He left that world of His (for this).

(135) In quest of the liberation of mankind from their sins there was no other suitable means found.

(136) He, therefore, bore all the sins of mankind, and for them He suffered the punishment Himself.

(137) No meritorious deed is necessary (for salvation).

(138) This man of "boundless forgiveness" has already appeared. If any man can realize who sent "the Lord of Heaven" then let him serve sole-heartedly this one God, the Lord of Heaven.

(139) Let him worship this one God! Let him obey only what is commanded by this one God.

(140) Unless you understand the meaning of a meritorious deed in this sense, it is not a meritorious deed at all.

(141) It may be a meritorious deed of other place (*i.e.* sect), but it cannot be a meritorious deed of this place (*i.e.* sect).

(142) To do a meritorious deed, for instance, is like a man building a house. First of all, before he builds it, he makes the piles for the house. He must, above all, fix these piles firmly and strongly.

(143) For, if the piles are not firm and strong, the house can not be set up.

(144) For instance, if a man wants to do any deed of merit he has, first of all, to observe all the rules and precepts of life set up (by God) and to prepare himself perfectly for the deed.

(145) And, indeed, all men have to know that there is this one God placed (over the world) for worship.

(146) All men have to worship (Him) and receive divine grace from the one God, and then they will do more meritorious deeds than ever.

(147) And there is another such as may be called a meritorious deed of praise and adoration by the word of mouth, and it must be known that such is no other than a work of merit.

(148) For instance, as it is taught, we must do good deeds at all times.

(149) Without regard to whatever or whomsoever we consider "the Lord of Heaven" in our mind, we must do the meritorious deed always.

(150) If any one is off guard of his mind, he is like a foolish man who wants to build a house without fixing the piles in the ground.

(151) If the piles of a house are not fixed in the ground, the house will be blown down and carried away when wind blows.

(152) But if the piles are fixed firmly and strongly into the ground the wind can not carry it away.

(153) If a meritorious deed done by a man does not bear the testimony of "the Lord of Heaven," then it will not come to perfection.

(154) If a man wants to see the manifestation of the one God, he has only to be pure in heart, for then he can see God.

(155) You should consider well what is taught in these words.

(156) Now, even if "the five attributes" have innumerable number of muscles and limbs, it seems that every one of them differs from each other.

(157) Both the body and the soul consisting of "the five attributes" have all perfectly independent existence.

(158) All the muscles and limbs are of physical forms suitable for existence in this world.

(159) All mankind in this world are divided into several kinds (of races).

(160) "One and two" (*i.e.* each and all) of them seem to resemble (the image of) the one God.

(161) "One and another" (*i.e.* all) have been created by the one God, and are completely provided for and developed (by Him).

(162) Therefore let all people worship God and declare that at the time of Eternal-existence and non-extinction all shall be submitted to His judgment.

(163) This is to take place as certain as spring and autumn succeed each other, and winter and summer come and go, and thus the four seasons complete the year.

(164) Besides, it is as certain as day and night follow each other, whilst the sun and the moon and the stars go on their orderly course.

(165) This One God is wise and holy, and His wisdom is self-created. He is ever changeless: neither waning nor waxing.

(166) For instance, it is like the self-existence of a clear echo. As it is self-existing, it is both self-created and self-responsive.

(167) This one God is absolutely perfect and is self-existing, and self-creating, and, therefore, in Him Law and Teaching are perfected, and He is far superior to all "the Sons of Heaven."

(168) It is said that both people in general (*i.e.* gentiles) and "the people in special relation (with God)" (*i.e.* Jews) have adversaries.

(169) They are the devils and demons. They lead people astray, and make them so deaf that they can not hear, or make them so blind that they can not see, His disciplinary rules.

(170) Now "people in general" tried to follow their own good Gods, and first of all they tried to do themselves good deeds.

(171) But, because of their foolishness, they were led astray by the devil, and consequently they could not understand the innermost fact (*i.e.* truth).

(172) For instance, this is like a man who takes for himself extracts of a book in order to learn the difference between the good and the evil, and yet goes astray in

spite of this, and thus fails to be enlightened and to receive the blessing and grace of God.

(173) And consequently they make themselves no better than a four footed beast.

(174) For these very reasons, the human heart has become like that of a beast's heart and consequently, it has become impossible for a human being to understand the truth and attain "the liberation from sorrow."

(175) And, therefore, they have neither discernment nor right understanding.

(176) Such will account for the fact that the four-footed beasts, having neither intelligence nor understanding, do not understand how to worship this One God. Nor do they understand the meaning of worship and sacrifice.

(177) The devils, together with others of their kind, keep people away from (God) leading them astray and into temptation.

(178) Of all "the wicked adversaries" none can surpass the devils.

(179) There are, however, the foolish people who are led astray, and fall into "the wicked way."

(180) On this account, of all these adversaries of mankind, none can surpass the devils in leading people astray.

(181) And, in consequence, the foolish people come to apply an appellation of "God" to wood and stone.

(182) On account of this, those who talk of the devil, now apply to him the name of "the adversary of man."

(183) Furthermore, it ought to be known that such name designates the reality of the thing to mankind, and it will make us to know good from evil as well as the deep from shallowness.

(184) If there are people who lack in consideration it is because they are led astray by the devil and are made not to cultivate good deeds.

(185) Let us, therefore, reflect on the devils.

(186) If any one could pacify the devils and make them to attain the "awakening to the intelligence" (*i.e.* the enlightenment), then these devils might become the same kind of Beings as "the flying immortals" (*i.e.* Angels) in Heaven.

(187) But the devils, of their own accord, resorted to evil deeds and turned themselves toward "the wicked way."

(188) For instance, this is like a case of "those stupid people," who acting contrary to good opportunity of turning away from the wicked, commit evil deeds.

(189) Thus gradually and steadily they begin to nurture wicked thoughts and act accordingly.

(190) Therefore, such men came to rebel against this One God and to differ very little from "the wicked adversaries of man."

(191) And by falling and going astray, the devils finally had to depart from "the Great Residence," because of the anger of God.

(192) They, therefore, not only had to depart from the "three regions" but also to be cut off and be separated from all good human relationship.

(193) And now these devils are called devil-demons, or under a different appellation they are called "Satana."

(194) This is, for instance, a "barbarian" appellation for the devil.

(195) Therefore "satana" and "the devil" are the different words for one and the same thing.

(196) Indeed, the devils seem to turn themselves toward "the wicked-way." They also make many people to go astray and to turn toward wickedness.

(197) All the foolish people who are led astray because of the devils and those who turn their mind toward the wickedness may be called by the same appellation as given to devils.

(198) They are also like "evil-spirits" (of mountains and rivers), who make people to turn toward "the wicked way" and finally cause them all to depart from Heaven.

(199) And the most wicked place under Heaven is the actual abode of the devil. And this is so since God makes them dwell therein.

(200) Now, we are taught that evil customs prevail again in the world, and wicked deeds exercise like influence over the people as the devils themselves do.

(201) These devils are the adversaries of men, and remain undisturbed in the wicked place and there they will dwell everlastingly.

(202) And the worst and the greatest of all the devils is known by the appellation of "San-nu" (*i.e.*, "Sando" in the old Chinese, which may be identified with "shianda" in syriac).

(203) But it is only the outsider who by degrees

has come to call him by the appellation of "Kuei" (*i.e.* the Chinese for "demon").

(204) But these demons and devils had to leave Heaven, its bright (place), and turned themselves toward "the wicked way."

(205) Owing to the fact that "San-nu" has always been active in setting up various kinds of wicked devices for the seduction of mankind, many people go astray.

(206) Being jealous the devils envy people doing good deeds. And, on account of this, the devils do not leave any man free to worship and adore the One (God).

(207) As the devils spend their time exclusively upon wicked deeds, so they devote their time in making the whole mankind to go astray, and cause them to fall into "the wicked way."

(208) And because they are led astray by the devils, the foolish people have ceased both from worshipping and adoring the one God in their hearts.

(209) They believe in the crooked and their views have become degraded.

(210) They, therefore, first of all, will fall into the middle of "the three wicked ways," and into the midst of the devils and demons.

(211) And afterward they will get re-born into this world, but they will have to live among the low and the poor in "out of the way place."

(212) Therefore, one prayer (to God) will be equal to "the kalpa of formation," and "the law of the myriad kalpa" will remain forever without change!

(213) But the devils, because of their wickedness, only try to discover wickedness and devote their time in scheming wicked deeds.

(214) Thus, living in the midst of wickedness, the devils turn toward the wicked.

(215) On the other hand, under four quarters of Heaven, there is one Being who gives people a desire to do good and cause them to do so, and this very Being is no other than the One (God).

(216) And under the four quarters of Heaven there are those who devote their time in doing wicked deeds and try to make all mankind to fall into "the wicked way," and these are, indeed, the devils.

(217) Therefore, those who pray to the One God unceasingly shall be satisfied.

(The End of) the Discourse on the One Ruler of the Universe, Part I.

THE ORIGIN OF LOESS

By JOHN B. PENNISTON

The evidence of astronomy favours the conclusion that the sun during past ages has been a nova at least on a small scale, as Harlow Shapley of Harvard University has urged. A French scientist, E. Belot, in 1923 also put forth the view that all stars including the sun have been novae. If the sun has been a nova at any time recent, there should be, because of the immense amount of material thrown off, evidence of it in meteoritic deposits on the earth in considerable amount. There is one geological formation that has never been satisfactorily explained, that of loess. The favoured explanations are that it is of eolian origin or else that it is an aqueous deposit. One writer, Philip J. Le Riche, thinks that it is of volcanic origin.

Loess of the type known as sub-aerial has one outstanding characteristic; it possesses what may be called vertical stratification due to the presence in the material of a great many very fine hollow tubes, lined with carbonate of lime, which are approximately perpendicular. The ground-mass of the formation consists largely of rock-forming silicates in which quartz predominates. The particles are sharply angular, showing practically no traces of rounded edges, and in addition the particles are remarkably uniform in size, being finer than sand but on the other hand coarser than fine rock flour such as occurs in glacial till or boulder clay. Pleistocene loess is very widely distributed in the North Temperate Zone in North America, in Europe and in Asia; the Chinese deposits are especially important, being as much as 1,500 feet thick in places. There are also formations belonging to still earlier periods, those in South America known as Pampean or Patagonian loess being important.

Because of its disregard of contour lines Chinese loess is generally accepted as constituting an eolian

deposit, but no one has yet shown how this material could be wind-borne from possibly Gobi desert to Shantung province without showing the usual evidence of trituration. Geologists are agreed that wind action does have this effect and, unless some special conditions can be proved to exist under which wind-borne material shows no sign of wear, the sharply angular particles of loess are conclusive evidence that it is not an eolian formation.

In the loess along the Missouri river near Council Bluffs, Iowa, the formation is about 50 feet thick in some places near the river, while 30 miles to the eastward the formation almost vanishes. American geologists urge that the formation there consists of material picked up by the wind from the glacial flood plain of the Missouri. It has been shown by Hobbs that the prevailing winds along glaciated regions are away from the centre of the glaciated area. Then the thick part of the deposit should be, according to experience with wind formations, on the lee side and away from the river, just the opposite of what the conditions actually are.

If loess is a meteoritic deposit, according to the viewpoint here urged, it would still be subject to air currents in its descent to the earth. If an anticyclone existed along the river, the principal deposits would occur near the river. The larger deposit should also occur on the eastern bank rather than the western, this reasoning being based on the assumption that the general drift of the meteoric material at the higher altitudes is from west to east on account of the rotation of the earth. Loess deposits usually are larger on the eastern banks of the large American rivers.

The hollow tubes, lined with calcium carbonate, in loess have never been satisfactorily explained. It is true that many texts suggest that they may have been caused by the roots of plants that formerly grew in the material—this suggestion being made despite the fact that no vegetable remains have ever been found in the tubes. No one has attempted to explain how the hypothetical plants segregated the carbonate of lime from the rest of the material and, of course, the whole proposition is rather fantastic.

The problem of the tubing is really one of chemistry. In the first place if the original material upon deposit contained calcium carbonate, it would act as a cement to bind the material together like the eolianites (eolian rocks) of Bermuda. This would occur because rain

water, percolating downward, would not segregate the calcium carbonate which is relatively insoluble except in the presence of carbonic acid in the water, and in the latter case the end product is calcium bicarbonate instead of a carbonate.

If the original material were meteoric, it would probably contain calcium oxide in some amount. Meteorites by their composition show themselves to have been formed in an atmosphere relatively free of oxygen and water. The sun's spectrogram contains strong calcium lines and it is likely that any unusually great amount of material thrown off by the sun would contain more than usual amounts of calcium from the deeper layers of the sun, especially from the parts of the sun known as the chromosphere and reversing layers. Calcium oxide is readily soluble in water, forming calcium hydroxide. In solution this latter product absorbs carbon dioxide which in the form of carbonic acid is normally present in rain water, having been taken directly from the atmosphere, and thereupon precipitates calcium carbonate. The formation of the hollow tubes, approximately vertical but with some ramification and lined with calcium carbonate, in loess by the agency of descending rain water is readily understood if we grant the presence of calcium oxide in the original material.

Chemical compounds are usually limited as to conditions permitting their formation and in this instance it is not clear how it is chemically possible to obtain the segregation of the calcium carbonate in the tubes except under the conditions suggested. If the original material contained calcium oxide, then that material could have been either volcanic or meteoric since calcium oxide (or unslacked lime) does not normally occur in earthy combinations except those that have recently been through a burning process. Lack of characteristic volcanic products further limits the material to a meteoritic origin.

It may also be noted that there is an absence of cross-bedding in loess. In typical eolian and aqueous deposits there is always a certain amount of horizontal lamination and cross-bedding due to uneven rates of deposit and also to shifts in the direction of wind or water currents. Usually there is also evidence of a sifting process, heavier materials being deposited first and nearest the source of the material and the finer materials further away. There are, however, certain parting planes at which occur numerous loess-mannikins (or stone-ginger

as the Chinese call them), sometimes a few feet apart but generally more than 50 feet and sometimes several hundred feet apart. These planes are not now usually considered by geologists to represent genuine planes of stratification. Loess undoubtedly lacks the usual characteristics of true eolian or aqueous deposits, and in the absence of further explanation we can scarcely refuse a consideration of other possible origin.

What are the objections to a meteoritic origin for loess? In a personal communication Dr. C. C. Wylie, an authority on meteors at the University of Iowa, suggested that the proportion of quartz in loess did not point towards meteoritic matter and that the uneven distribution of loess was also an objection. Most astronomers favour an even distribution over the earth for meteoritic matter that falls to its surface. The actual data as to meteorites show them to be decidedly uneven in distribution. It is also just as well to remember that the law of gravitation is only an approximation so far as the actual evidence is concerned; probably it represents a mathematical system of limits. Likewise the assumed isotropy of space is based upon Newton's laws rather than on facts. We really have a very poor basis for the deduction that meteors are governed merely by chance as to what part of the earth they strike; it seems much better to stick to Newton's fourth rule of reasoning (which the writer calls the Law of Preferred Induction) and let the actual data decide the matter, according to which meteoritic matter would not be evenly distributed over the earth.

The occurrence of quartz in meteorites is rather rare, but there are examples of it and also of tridymite. Stony meteorites contain a great deal of chondritic material, usually olivine or some other silicate, so formed as to suggest that the original chondrules (very small stony spheres) were suddenly congealed from "drops of fiery rain." This may be the normal result of material thrown off from the sun at the present time. If the amount of the material ejected from the sun were far greater, as for example might be the case in the nova stage, the temperature of the material might be maintained high enough (between 90 degrees and 600 degrees C.) to metamorphose the silica into quartz. At a higher temperature the same material might have become tridymite, and at a still higher temperature it might have given us cristobalite of which latter there is no known sample among meteorites.

The finely splintered material of loess has not yet been accounted for under any explanation of the formation. The groundmass of stony meteorites contains not only many chondrules but also many finely splintered, sharply angular fragments such as might result from fragmentation of chondrules. Large meteors are to be considered as aggregations of material that have been collected together at some point in outer space. Meteors themselves frequently break up after they enter the earth's atmosphere. The break-up of large meteors is supposed to result from pressure of the atmosphere with possibly the shape of the meteor a contributing factor. Chondrules are supposed to break up as the result of collisions. A more reasonable explanation, it would seem, is to ascribe the fracturing of meteors and of chondrules to a change of condition from that under which solidification of the body took place. The investigations of A. Tveten and others show that frangibility of crystals is in some instances at least partly dependent upon magnetic and other conditions existing where the crystal is formed. Regardless of what the correct explanation may be, the empirical evidence is quite conclusive that meteoric material does in many instances undergo a fracturing process.

A careful analysis of loess and of the material of meteorites shows that the proportions of materials are not quite the same. Of silica the average for meteorites is 38.41% and for loess from 58.97% to 72.68%; of alumina, an average of 2.86% for meteorites and from 7.51% to 12.71% for loess; of magnesia, an average of 23.66% for meteorites and from 1.11% to 4.56% for loess; and meteorites contain average amounts of 12.35% of metallic iron, of 13.60% of ferrous oxide and of .92% of ferric oxide, while loess has amounts from .12% to .96% of ferrous oxide and from 2.61% to 5.14% of ferric oxide. Meteorites contain average amounts of 1.88% of calcium oxide, of .16% of carbon and small amounts of carbon monoxide and of carbon dioxide, while loess has as much as 14.90% of calcium carbonate. It does not logically follow that meteoritic deposits are unchanging in character and in amount from one age to another. Petrographical provinces on the earth itself change from one geological epoch to another, and at the basis of this change of provinces may be a change of meteoritic matter from which the earth may have been built. Even among meteorites at the present time there is considerable

variation in the case of individual specimens as to contents.

A striking bit of evidence in behalf of a meteoritic origin of loess is that found in studying a report on the Yellow River by Fijnje van Salverda in 1891, where it is stated in a discussion of loess that there are angular stony fragments in the formation evidently not rounded by the action of water, generally found in heaps together and forming stone-agglomerates whose dispersal is always more or less limited. The presence of these stones can not, apparently, be accounted for by the agency either of wind or of water. It will be of interest when further examination is made of them to see whether or not they show evidence of chondritic structure such as is characteristic of meteorites at the present time. These stony fragments are not to be confused with the loess-mannikins which seem to be concretions formed subsequent to the deposit of the original material.

In concluding it may be stated that a careful study of all the evidence bearing on the origin of loess shows nothing really prohibitive to a meteoric origin for the deposit. On the other hand the absence of trituration of particles, the lack of cross-bedding in the material and the presence of calcium carbonate tubes are not only adverse but prohibitive to an eolian or aqueous origin. Conceivably new data might put a new light on the matter but until new evidence is produced we should regard a meteoritic origin of loess as the most probable explanation.

SOME CHINESE SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF NORTHEASTERN ASIA

By ESSON M. GALE, M.A., Ph. D.

The Chinese have had the most direct and intimate contacts with the peoples and the regions of North-eastern Asia from times of remote antiquity. Their records include treatises, authentic from Han times at least, dealing with their neighbours, at times friends, but usually foes, to the north. A wealth of historiography originating with the *Memoirs* of Ssü-ma Ch'ien of the second century B.C. has produced a singular historical mindedness on the part of the Chinese.

Besides twenty-six official dynastic histories, representing a continuity of national activity unparalleled by any other nation, there are unofficial accounts; and particularly thousands of volumes on the history and geography of the border regions. Among these latter are especially to be mentioned the *Hsiao Fang Hu Chai Yü Ti Ts'ung Ch'ao*,¹ Collected Geographical Works; the *P'êng Lai Chai Ti Li Ts'ung Shu*,² Geographical Memoirs of P'êng Lai Studio. The three great encyclopaedias of the ninth to the thirteenth centuries by Tu Yü,³ Chêng Ch'iao,⁴ and Ma Tuan-lin,⁵ known as the *San T'ung*⁶ or Three General Compendia; the great *K'ang Hsi* encyclopaedia, *T'u Shu Chi Ch'êng*,⁷ the Supplements to Ma Tuan-lin's work, *Hsü Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*,⁸ *Huang Ch'ao Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*,⁹ and *Hsü T'ung Chih*,¹⁰ all provide an inexhaustible and thus far little exploited mine of information on the frontier regions.

¹ 小方壺齋輿地叢鈔

² 杜佑

³ 鄭樵

⁴ 馬端臨

⁵ 三通

⁶ 續文獻通考

⁷ 皇朝文獻通考

⁸ 蓬萊齋地理叢書

⁹ 圖書集成

¹⁰ 續通志

There are a number of early standard works on North East Asia such as the *Shuo Fang Pei Ch'êng*,¹¹ Records on Northern Affairs, documents and official and semi-official record regarding Mongolia, Manchuria, Turkestan and Russia by Ho Ch'iu-t'ao.¹² The *Tung Hua Lu*¹³ Official Records of the Manchu Dynasty, with two supplements down to the Kuang Hsü era, represents no less than 336 volumes or *chüan*. This work has already received some notice from western scholars.

Two important works on the Mongols, written one in 1777, the other in 1867, are the *Mêng Ku Yüan Liu*,¹⁴ Origin of the Mongols, and *Mêng Ku Yu Mu Chi*,¹⁵ Records of the Mongol Pastures. Standard works on the Manchus are the *Pa Ch'i T'ung Chih*,¹⁶ Gazetteer of the Eight Banners, and the well known *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*¹⁷ and *Hui Tien*,¹⁸ Laws and Regulations of the Ta Ch'ing Empire.

Especially valuable are regional works, usually known as *T'ung Chih*¹⁹ or gazetteers. A late work (1910) is the *Tung San Shêng Chêng Lüeh*,²⁰ The Administration of the Three Eastern Provinces, as arranged by Viceroy, later President, Hsü Shih-ch'ang. Seven further important works are *Chi Lin T'ung Chih*,²¹ A Gazetteer of Kirin Province, *Huang Ch'ing K'ai Kuo Fang Lüeh*,²² History of the Establishment of the Manchu Dynasty, translated by Erich Hauer into German, *Huang Ch'ing Chih Kung T'u*,²³ The Tributary System of the Manchu Empire, and the *Hsin Chiang T'u Shih*,²⁴ a gazetteer of Chinese Turkestan.

That the work of Chinese contemporary historians also merits attention is indicated in a paper published in the July 1929 volume of the *American Historical Review*. This evaluation has been made by Dr. Arthur W. Hummel, Chief of the Division of Chinese Literature in the Library of Congress. The range of Chinese historical studies is graphically suggested when a thousand years ago a native scholar heaved a sigh and exclaimed, "Where shall one begin in a study of the seventeen dynastic histories?" To-day these official histories number twenty-six, comprising nearly 4,000 books; not to speak of the far greater number of private histories, and multitudinous other works of an historical nature. Since the seventeenth and

¹¹ 朔方備乘¹⁵ 蒙古遊牧記¹⁹ 通志²² 皇清開國方略¹² 何秋濤¹⁶ 八旗通志²⁰ 東三省政略²³ 皇清職貢圖¹³ 東華錄¹⁷ 大清律例²¹ 吉林通志²⁴ 新疆圖識¹⁴ 蒙古源流¹⁸ 會典

eighteenth centuries, Chinese historians have employed and are employing critical methods not inferior to European scholarship. Hence Chinese scholars term the last two or three centuries *the age of documentary criticism and textual comparison*.

Concurrent with this new type of historical study in China, which has resulted in the collapse of the elaborate chronological framework of traditionally accepted history, comes to light new material of the greatest value. Moreover the old historical records are being reevaluated by severely critical methods, by such a modern historian as Professor Chang Hsin-hai, who wrote on "Some Types of Chinese Historical Thought," in *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Volume IX, 1929.

Of the new material recently emerging for historical investigation, perhaps the most interesting is a body of documents described by T. F. Tsiang in the October, 1929, number of the *American Historical Review*. Under the title "China after the Victory of Taku, June 25, 1859," Professor Tsiang describes a large collection of papers covering the years 1836-1904, from the so-called Opium War to the Russo-Japanese War. These are transcripts from the dossiers of the old *Li Fan Yüan*,²⁵ the Mongolian Superintendency, later to become the *Tsung Li Yamên*, and after 1900 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Copies of documents were made and preserved. The original official archives have been frequently scattered or destroyed. These documents, as copied, fill 180 Chinese volumes and when published, as they are now in course of being by the Metropolitan Library at Peiping, will represent about 5,000 pages. They will form a thesaurus of Chinese source material on the history of China's foreign relations "which may work havoc in existing histories." The collection is known as the *Wai Chiao Shih Mo Chi*.²⁶

The student of China's history and international relations is indebted to Professor K. S. Latourette of Yale University, who has undertaken the task of compiling for the *American Historical Review* on two occasions—in July 1921 and again nine years later—brief reviews of works on and concerning China. While a large part of these summaries is devoted to works in western languages,

²⁵理藩院

²⁶外交始末記

a considerable number of significant works produced currently by Chinese scholars is listed. Principal among these are the *Hsin Yüan Shih*,²⁷ New History of the Mongol Dynasty and the *Ch'ing Shih Kao*,²⁸ Draft History of the Manchu Era. Particular note is taken of the attention paid to historical method by the late Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in his productive career, as well as of Dr. Hu Shih, in continuation of the critical "Han School of Learning" of the 17th and 18th centuries. These masters inspired Professor Ku Chieh-kang, to produce a notable work *Ku Shih P'ien*,²⁹ Critical Exposition of Ancient Chinese History or A Symposium on Ancient Chinese History. This valuable work is partly translated into English by Dr. Hummel.

The controversies as to China's relations with foreign nations have naturally produced a large number of works. Two of the best of these noted are *Chung Kuo Chin Shih Wai Chiao Shih*,³⁰ History of Chinese Foreign Relations, by Liu Yen; and *Chung Jih Chiao Shê Shih*,³¹ History of Sino-Japanese Relations, also by Liu Yen, an able Chinese treatment of the subject.

Wang Kuo-wei, who died some years ago, produced numerous works on ancient history and also on the history of the Mongols. Lo Chên-yü, the great Chinese antiquarian, has made wide archeological studies bearing on the Chinese border regions. In the tremendous output of the moment, induced by the intellectual and political ferment in China of to-day, three historical works are worthy of mention: (1) *Ch'ing Tai T'ung Shih*,³² A General History of the Manchu Dynasty, by Hsiao I-shan; (2) *Chung Hsi Chiao T'ung Shih Liao*,³³ Sources for a History of Sino-Foreign Relations, by Chang Hsing-lang, a treasury of information drawn from both Chinese and western sources; (3) *Chung Kuo Tsui Chin San Shih Nien Shih*,³⁴ Chinese History of the Last Thirty Years, by Ch'ên Kung-fu.

Facilities for Chinese studies abroad have been notably enriched by select lists of works on or concerning China compiled by Mr. Charles S. Gardner, under the sponsorship of the American Council of Learned Societies. Apart from a valuable *Bibliography of Western Books on*

²⁷ 新元史³⁰ 中國近世外交史³³ 中西交通史料²⁸ 清史稿³¹ 中日交涉史³⁴ 中國最近三十年史²⁹ 古史辨³² 清代通史

China with supplementary lists, Mr. Gardner has compiled as well *A Check-list of Selected Chinese Works*. This includes as many as possible of the principal monuments of Chinese literature in all major fields. Of special interest to Northeastern Asia studies are the sections: catalogues of works³⁵; history³⁶; geography³⁷; place names and regional gazetteers³⁸; and encyclopaedias.³⁹

The greatest working library for source materials on Northeastern Asia, certainly in America, if not anywhere outside of China, is the Library of Congress. Up to recently it contained some 136,772 Chinese volumes, and in Japanese 12,158 volumes. In addition, the Library has several thousand volumes in Korean, Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan. This great collection occupies an entire storey in the new northeast bookstack. The Chinese collections began with the purchase of 2,888 volumes from the library of the first American Minister to China, Caleb Cushing. Gifts by the late W. W. Rockhill and more recently by Mr. Nelson T. Johnson, former and present U. S. Ministers to China, continue the tradition. The growth of the library to its present splendid proportions is largely due to Mr. Walter T. Swingle, of the Department of Agriculture, Chairman of the Library Committee.

In the past 18 or 19 years the annual reports issued by the Librarian have devoted increasing space to a description of accessions in the Far Eastern Division, particularly of Chinese books. The bibliographical notes have been supplied largely by Mr. Swingle, with frequent notes and translations by Mr. M. J. Hagerty; and since 1928 by Dr. Arthur W. Hummel. These bibliographical notes, now available in some twelve off-prints, are of exceptional value to the student of Chinese source material. The succeeding discussion of works relating largely to China's frontier regions, comprises chiefly excerpts from the Librarian's reports, which are of such value as to merit a far wider circulation than they now probably enjoy.

One of the rarest of manuscript works in the Library of Congress is a part of the great Mongol Dynasty gazetteer of China, *Ta Yüan I T'ung Chih*,⁴⁰ originally in 1,300 books issued in 1346, the first draft ordered by Kublai Khan; 6 books bound in 10 volumes are in the

³⁵ 書目 ³⁶ 史 ³⁷ 地 ³⁸ 地名通志 ³⁹ 類書 ⁴⁰ 大元一統志

Library of Congress.⁴¹ This was a larger work than any subsequent gazetteer of China.

A large number of Ming works giving official or semi-official records of that dynasty are in the Library of Congress. They are indispensable in studying the reactions of the Chinese state and people to the advent of Europeans after the discovery of the sea route to India by the Portuguese. The *Huang Ming Su I Chi Lüeh*⁴² a résumé of petitions and memorials to superior officers published during the *Chia Ching* period of the Ming dynasty, 1522-1587, relates to the era when Europeans first appeared off the coast of China in large numbers and first landed by force. Historians will find much valuable material in Chinese records of this momentous period.⁴³

The geographical and historical gazetteers of China, compiled especially during the Ming dynasty, both official and unofficial, are of the greatest value in any detailed historical, industrial, or economic research on the development of China and her relations with her neighbours. Of these, one of the most valuable single gazetteers is the *Ta Ch'ing I T'ung Chih*,⁴⁴ General Official Gazetteer of the Whole Chinese Empire, Ch'ien Lung first edition (1744), 356 Chinese books, bound in 104 volumes.⁴⁵ There are, as stated, a number of Ming historical records in the Library containing information regarding the advent of the Europeans by the sea route and the steady encroachments from the north by the Manchus.⁴⁶

The *Ssü Pu Ts'ung K'an*⁴⁷ consists of photographic reproductions of famous old editions of important Chinese works, now rare or almost unobtainable. Completed in 1923, it is the largest Chinese collectanea (*ts'ung shu*) ever printed in China except a few special collections of the Buddhist and Taoist Canon. It contains 323 works in some 2,800 volumes, comprising in all about 12,000 books. 1,400 copies were issued. The great private libraries of China were ransacked to find works to reproduce in this

⁴¹ Library of Congress Report, 1919-20, p. 188.

⁴² 皇明疏議輯略

⁴³ Lib. of Congress Report, 1921, p. 172.

⁴⁴ 大清一通志

⁴⁵ Lib. of Congress Report, 1921-22, p. 176-8.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1922-23, p. 173.

⁴⁷ 四部叢刊

collection. It includes works in philosophy, lexicography, *belles lettres*, history and especially a splendid array of the great historical works of the Sung Dynasty, 960-1279.⁴⁸

An old gazetteer of unusual interest on the border regions is the *Shuo Fang Hsin Chih*⁴⁹ in five books, compiled by Chao K'o-chiao and others and completed in the 45th year of the Ming Emperor Wan Li, or 1517. This gazetteer describes the prefecture of Ning-hsia in Kansu province. The *Ti Wei*⁵⁰ by Hsiung Jên-lin is a Ming treatise on foreign countries. It deals with Europe, Africa and America, but more fully with the Asiatic countries outside of China. It was written in 1624 but not published until 1648.⁵¹

The gift of the private Chinese library of Mr. Nelson T. Johnson, now American Minister to China, is of special interest. It contains 65 works in 1,012 volumes, collected over many years in China. The collection is especially rich in treatises on the theory and practice of public administration by the district and prefectural magistrates, who in the old Chinese regime combined the functions of judge and administrative officer, for a region corresponding to the American county. The field of legal and administrative lore gives an unusually clear and intimate view of Chinese civilization. Two of the most important works in Mr. Johnson's gift are *Mu Ling Shu Ch'i Yao*,⁵² Essentials for the Guidance of an Official and *Tzu Chih Hsin Shu*,⁵³ A Key to Court Administration.

The Library of Congress has now probably the best collection of Manchu works to be found outside the Orient. Every effort has been made to secure all works of value in this language that have been offered for sale in the Far East or western countries. One of the principal collections was made by the eminent American orientalist, Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum. The collection includes the Book of Old Manchu Speech to Keep Up Good Manners, a most important work for a knowledge of ancient Manchu. Another work of unusual value is the History of the Manchu Tribes, the Manchu version of the Chinese work, already mentioned, called *Pa Ch'i T'ung Chih Ch'u Chi*,⁵⁴ published in A.D. 1744. It is indispensable to a study of Manchu social and tribal organization.

⁴⁸ Lib. of Congress Report, 1922-23, p. 174.

⁴⁹ 朔方新志

⁵⁰ 地緯

⁵¹ Lib. of Congress Report, 1923-24, p. 259.

⁵² 牧令書輯要

⁵³ 資治新書

⁵⁴ 八通志初集

A work called *Ritual of the Manchu* is specially noteworthy. The basis of the Manchu collection in the Library of Congress was the gift of the excellent and very extensive Manchu library donated by W. W. Rockhill, sometime American Minister to China and later Ambassador to St. Petersburg and Constantinople.⁵⁵

No study of the historical development of Northeastern Asia can afford to overlook the voluminous writings of the Koreans. Almost all Korean books are written in pure Chinese. Over a number of years Dr. James S. Gale, long a resident of Seoul, Korea, and a profound student of Korean literature, co-operated with Mr. Swingle in the acquisition of Korean works of commanding importance. He has also analyzed, indexed and otherwise rendered available the masterpieces of Korean literature. The important Korean collection of Mr. Frederick McCormick of Hollywood, California, assembled and indexed by Dr. Gale, is also to be noted. In 1924 the great library of the Korean scholar Kim To-heui was secured for the Library of Congress, consisting of 68 works in 154 volumes. This brought the collection up to 828 volumes. The Kim collection constitutes a typical scholar's apparatus, including dictionaries, histories, treatises on scientific subjects, legal and administrative works, geographical gazetteers, etc. The most interesting of the many historical works in the Kim library is the *Cho-ya Cheup-yo*, or Digest of History, by an unknown author, in 29 books bound in 15 large volumes, and written in MS. form on the highly esteemed Korean mulberry paper. It covers the events of the last Korean dynasty from its beginning in 1392 down to the last year of Yung Jong, A.D. 1776. The work could not be printed until after the fall of the dynasty (1910); hence it remained in M.S.⁵⁶

To proceed with strictly Chinese sources, a work of value to the historian is that of Lo Hung-hsien, who compiled the *Kuang Yü T'u*,⁵⁷ published 1579, but originally composed in the Yüan or Mongol dynasty. This is a work extremely useful in the study of Chinese history and geography. Another similar work is the *Huang Yü K'ao*,⁵⁸ A.D. 1557. It describes the provinces

⁵⁵ Lib. of Congress Report, 1924-25, p. 25-6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 1924-5, p. 27.

⁵⁷ 廣輿圖

⁵⁸ 皇輿考

of China, with valuable maps. One of its eight parts consists of an account of foreign peoples neighbouring to China. A reading of this section might bring to light interesting information about early European contact with China in the sixteenth century. The *Ts'êng Ting Kuang Yü Chi*⁵⁹ compiled by Ts'ai Fang-ping, and published in 1686, is a comprehensive geographical work embracing all the provinces of China, the border lands and foreign countries. In the *Kuan Hsiang Lu Ts'ung Shu*⁶⁰ reprint are valuable explanations of geographical names and discussions of the ancient and modern maps of China and the countries to the north.⁶¹

One of the most significant works in the Library of Congress for the study of the history of China is the collected works of the famous critical historian Ts'ui Shu, who lived until 1816. He was the last of the great representatives of the so-called "Han School of Learning," which made the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the most memorable for scholarship of all the centuries since the time of Confucius and Mencius. Although the most critical of Chinese historians since the famous Liu Chih-chi of the eighth century, his writings were to all intents and purposes lost until, more than a century after his death, the present historians and scholars Hu Shih and Ku Chieh-kang restudied them. Dr. Hu Shih in 1921 came across a reprint of Ts'ui Shu's *Ts'ui Tung Pi I Shu*,⁶² which a Japanese scholar had discovered in 1903. Despite this alleged discovery, the work was actually in the Library of Congress in 26 volumes. A beautiful new edition of this work has been published in 1924. Ts'ui Shu anticipated by a century and a half conclusions on ancient Chinese history, which the scholars of the contemporary "intellectual renaissance in China" are only now reaching. He doubted—as Hirth did—the "model Emperor lore" of a "golden age." He brought forward proofs against the authenticity of works of ancient China as to their traditional dates and authors. Finally he was the first to point out the later origin of the last five books of the Confucian Analects as well as certain anachronisms in other chapters of the famous classic.⁶³

⁵⁹增訂廣輿記 ⁶⁰觀象廬叢書

⁶¹ Lib. of Congress Report, 1926-27, p. 246.

⁶² 崔東壁遺書

⁶³ Lib. of Congress Report, 1927-28, p. 277.

The Tibetan collection in the Library of Congress was also initiated by the late W. W. Rockhill, one of the most eminent of Tibetan scholars. Since the gift of a copy of the Tibetan *Kanjur*, other accessions have been obtained either through Dr. Berthold Laufer, now the leading Tibetan scholar in America, or through Dr. Joseph F. Rock, the celebrated explorer of south-west China. Almost every kind of Tibetan book can now be found in the collection of the Library of Congress—crudely written shamanistic rituals, fine MS. copies of Buddhist sutras; in fact, Tibetan books of all kinds, superb examples of the best printers' art of Tibet, such as the Choni and Narthang editions of the sacred Buddhist canon.⁶⁴

In the Library of Congress is a MS. work of exceptional value dealing with the later period of Chinese history. This is an early Ch'ing MS. entitled, *Hsing Ts'un Lu*,⁶⁵ Notes on the Fall of the Ming Dynasty, or literally, Records Worth Preserving. It was compiled under the joint authorship of Hsia Yün-i⁶⁶ and his son, Hsia Fu.⁶⁷ Both were scholars who were unable to reconcile themselves to the Manchu conquest in 1644. In the handwriting of the authors, it is a primary record of interested native observers and forms a first-hand source for the history of the period. The many references derogatory to the Manchus, made it impossible of publication. The elder of the authors committed suicide upon the fall of Nanking in 1645 and the son was executed in 1647.⁶⁸ The early part of this work describes with detachment the decline of the Mings from 1573 to their fall in 1644. New light is thrown especially on the controversies of political factions, which, equally with the Manchu invasion, brought about the dissolution of the dynasty.⁶⁹

Another primary source for the study of West and North China is the *Hui Chiang Chih*,⁷⁰ Gazetteer of the Mohammedan Regions, compiled in 1772 by a number of Manchu officers taking part in Ch'ien Lung's pacification of Chinese Turkestan. The work is notable for a detailed MS. map.⁷¹

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1927-28, p. 313.

⁶⁵ 幸存錄 ⁶⁶ 夏允彝 ⁶⁷ 夏復

⁶⁸ Lib. of Congress Report, 1928-29.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1929-30, p. 357.

⁷⁰ 回疆誌

⁷¹ Lib. of Congress Report, 1929-30, p. 357.

Doubtless one of the most interesting sources for the study of China's international relations during the past two centuries and more is the *Ch'ing Shih Kao*,⁷² Draft History of the Manchu Dynasty. The work was completed between 1914-27. Thus far it has not received the *imprimatur* of the Government. The Library of Congress has two complete sets, each numbering 131 volumes. It is based of course upon the public archives of the Ch'ing dynasty. The arrangement follows the Ming dynastic history with such modifications as the inclusion of a section on "Communications" and one on "Foreign Relations." These two additions are indicative of important social and political changes in China. The former traces the story of the introduction of the railroads, steamships, the telegraph and post office. The section on foreign affairs recognizes an equality in international relations not hitherto acknowledged in the official histories. In the biographical section names of such foreigners as General Frederick T. Ward, Charles Gordon, and Sir Robert Hart appear. Captain Elliot, Muravieff, and other names of personages involved in late Chinese history, take form in rather strange Chinese transliteration.⁷³

The work is doubtless a mine of data for the modern period. Those who have thus far studied the work point out certain superficialities and not infrequently misstatements of facts from the foreign point of view. But it at any rate discloses important material from purely Chinese sources. Western historians, having very largely completed their examination of the voluminous material in occidental archives, must needs turn also to these available Chinese sources. The biography of Commissioner Lin Tzu-hsü, whose opium repression measures precipitated the so-called Opium War of the 1840's, is a fair sample of the work. With remarkable prescience for his time, Lin indicated Russia, not England, as the country to be feared by China.

A work of considerable value in the early relations of China and Japan has recently been reprinted. This is the *Hai Wai T'ung K'u Chi*,⁷⁴ written by a well known political agitator and historical critic, Huang Tsung-hsi

⁷² 清史稿

⁷³ Lib. of Congress Report, 1929-30.

外痛哭記

(1610-1695). The title means Shedding Tears Abroad, referring, through an historical allusion, to the efforts of the censor, Fêng Ching-ti, to gain the armed intervention of Japan against the Manchus. Not permitted to land at Nagasaki, he could only view the shore from a distance and "seek relief in tears." It appears that altogether three appeals were made to Japan for assistance, 1645, 1647, 1649, all of which were without practical result. The work also refers to a bombardment of Japanese harbours—probably to the bombardment of the Christian Japanese community at Nagasaki by the Dutch at the request of the Tokugawa authorities.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ Lib. of Congress Report, 1929-30, p. 351.

THE TRAVELS OF EMPEROR MU

Translated by CHENG TE-K'UN

[Mr. Chêng has here presented a new rendering of perhaps one of the oldest Chinese romances of adventure. The translation appears to be at times freer than the literal text warrants and as it has finally come down to us from the Vth or IVth century B.C. The first English translation of this ancient fragment, "The History of Mu, Son of Heaven," which recounts the military expeditions, the hunting excursions, the travels and the romantic adventures of the Emperor Mu, was made by Eitel in *China Review*, XVII, pp. 223-240, 247-258. The work has continued to attract the attention of scholars ever since. Cf. Chavannes, *Mémoires Historiques de Seu-ma Ts'ien*, Vol. V, Appendix ii;—Kume, *Konron Seiôbô kô* [A Study on Hsi-wang-mu of the K'un-lun], *Shigaku zasshi*, IV, 197-214;—L. de Saussure, *Le Voyage du roi Mou au Turkestan*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1920, 151-156; *La relation des voyages du roi Mou*, *Ibid.*, 1921, 247-280; *The calendar of the Muh t'ien tsz chuen*, in *New China Review*, 1920, 513-516; *Le Voyage du roi Mou et l'hypothèse d'Ed. Chavannes*, *T'oung Pao*, 1920-1921, 19-31. Professor H. Maspero (*La Chine Antique*, pp. 582) dissents from the generally held opinion that this is an actual historical chronicle, or that a kingdom or tribe by the name of Hsi-wang-mu existed in Central Asia. The first three of the entire six *chüan* are here given.—Editor].

PREFACE.¹

In the second year of the reign of T'ai-k'ang² [A.D. 281], Pu-chun³ of Chi-hsien⁴ rifled an ancient tomb in

The edition used for this translation is that of the *Ssu-pu Ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊, published by The Commercial Press, Shanghai.

PREFACE.

¹ This Preface was prepared by Hsün Hsü 荀勗, who had been ordered by Wu-ti of the Chin dynasty 晉武帝 to re-edit the "bamboo books" found in the tomb of an ancient king. The official titles of Hsün Hsü are 侍中中書監, 光祿大夫 and 濟北侯.

² 太康, a reign period of Wu-ti of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 280-289).

which he found a number of books. Among these, one is entitled *The Travels of Emperor Mu*.⁵

The book is made of slips of bamboo, pasted with white silk. Measuring the leaves with the ancient ruler which (Hsün) Hsü, Your Majesty's servant has determined before, they are each two feet and four inches long, containing forty characters written in black ink.

The locality of Chi belonged to the Wei State⁶ during the time of the Warring States.⁷

According to the *Bamboo Annals*,⁸ which has also been found in the grave, the tomb belongs to Ling-wang,⁹ son of Hui-ch'êng-wang of the Wei State.¹⁰ He is called Hsiang-wang¹¹ in the *Shih Pên*.¹²

According to the *Chronicles of the Six States* in the *Shih Chi*,¹³ it was 86 years from the twenty-first year of Ling-wang to the thirty-fourth year of the First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty,¹⁴ when all the books of the Empire were ordered to be destroyed. And it was 579 years from that time to the second year of T'ai-k'ang.

The book records the travels of King Mu of the Chou dynasty.¹⁵ "King Mu," says Tso's commentary on the *Classic of Spring and Autumn*,¹⁶ "wished to satisfy his ambition by touring around the world and by marking the countries under the sky with the wheels of his chariots and the hoofs of his horses." The accounts of his travels have been recorded in this book.

³ 不准.

⁴ 汲縣, a *hsien* in Honan north of the Yellow River, under Chi Chün 汲郡 during the Chin dynasty.

⁵ 穆天子傳. The hero was the fifth emperor of the Chou dynasty who ruled for fifty-five years (1001-945 B.C.)

⁶ 魏國, one of the seven states during the time of the Warring States.

⁷ 戰國, a period at the end of the Chou dynasty when the Seven Feudal States engaged in war against each other (464-221 B.C.)

⁸ 竹書紀年.

⁹ 令王.

¹⁰ 魏惠成王.

¹¹ 襄王.

¹² 世本.

¹³ 史記, 六國年表.

¹⁴ 秦始皇 (246-210).

¹⁵ Cf. 5 *supra*.

¹⁶ 左傳.

The King, having the fine steeds Tao-li and Luh-erh,¹⁷ and the excellent driver Tsao Fu,¹⁸ travelled around the world. He visited the four remote corners of the world, crossing the desert¹⁹ on the north, ascending the K'un-lun Mountain²⁰ on the west and paying a visit to the Royal Mother of the West.²¹ This same story can also be found in the *Shih Chi*.

But unfortunately, the book was not well preserved in Chi-hsien and most of the leaves have been either destroyed or disarranged.

Although the stories do not conform to classical ideas, yet it is an ancient book and is indeed worth reading.

Therefore, Your Majesty's servant has carefully translated the old text on yellow sheets of paper two feet in size, and begs that when at leisure, Your Majesty will order the court secretary to copy it out together with the original text and store it up in the third hall as one of the Middle Classics.²²

Your obedient servant writes this preface,

Hsün Hsü.

CHAPTER I.

. . .¹ the Emperor was entertained at a banquet on the Chüan Mountain.²

On the day *mou-yin*,³ Emperor Mu started out for the north by crossing the river Chang.⁴ Two days later,

¹⁷ 盜驪, 騄耳.

¹⁸ 造父.

¹⁹ 流沙 literally, The Flowing Sand.

²⁰ 崑崙山 cf. text.

²¹ 西王母 cf. text.

²² 中經.

CHAPTER I

¹ The text is incomplete and we do not know by whom the emperor was entertained. The incomplete parts are thus left blank as in the text.

² 鍾 is pronounced like 涓.

³ 戊寅. The Chinese have a special way of counting the years. There are ten characters known as the ten stems of Heaven 天干 and another twelve characters known as the twelve branches of Earth 地支. The combinations of these two sets of characters give names to the sixty years of the Chinese cycle. The days

kêng-shên, the company reached . . . ,⁵ where the emperor was entertained at a banquet by the people of this country upon a hill. By the imperial command, the *kuang* music⁶ was sounded, but the emperor himself did not alight from his chariot. The company then proceeded forward until they arrived at the foot of the Hsing Mountain.⁷

On the day *kuei-wei* it snowed, and the emperor went out hunting on the western range of the mountain. Crossing the valley of the mountain he followed a course north to the southern bank of the Ho-t'o River.⁸

On the day *yi-yu*, the emperor proceeded north and ascended. . . . He arrived at the domain of the Ch'üan-jung⁹ and was entertained by the people on the southern bank of the Tang River.¹⁰ He was very pleased

are named and counted in the same way. The system has been actually in use since the Yin dynasty (1766?-1122? B.C.). The ten stems of Heaven are:—*chia* 甲, *yi* 乙, *ping* 丙, *ting* 丁, *mu* 戊, *chi* 己, *kêng* 庚, *hsin* 辛, *jen* 壬, *kuei* 癸. The twelve branches of Earth are:—*tsü* 子, *ch'ou* 丑, *yin* 寅, *mao* 卯, *shên* 辰, *ssü* 巳, *wu* 午, *wei* 未, *shên* 申, *yu* 酉, *hsü* 戌, *hai* 亥.

⁴ 漳水. Most commentators believe that the Chang River which the emperor crossed was in Yeh-hsien 鄴縣, the present An-yang 安陽 in Honan. But during the reign of Emperor Mu the capital was in Hsi-chou 西周, Shensi, and it is rather absurd to say that the emperor took his way first eastward purposely to cross the river. The absurdity must be due to the incompleteness or the disarrangement of the text. Some maintain that the expedition started out from Lo-i 洛邑, the eastern capital, the present Loyang.

⁵ The text is incomplete and there is a blank character inserted in place of the name. Blanks are found in similar instances below.

⁶ 廣樂. The *kuang* music has a heavenly origin. According to the *Shih Chi* 史記 (*Chao-shih-chia* 趙世家) Chao Chien-tzu 趙簡子 was very ill, unconscious for seven days. On recovering he said that he had been to the Heavenly Palace of God, a happy land where spirits travelled in and out with ease. Nine times the *kuang* music was played for him during his stay, accompanied by all sorts of dancing. This was the origin of the *kuang* music. But Ch'ên Fêng-hêng 陳逢衡 does not agree to this. He believes that according to the *Yü-p'ien* 玉篇, an ancient dictionary, *kuang* means big, and that the name *kuang* music was given to the playing of the music of the Hsia, Shang and Chou dynasties, 夏, 商, 周.

⁷ 鉞 is pronounced like 邢. The mountain is on the south of Huo-lu-hsien 獲鹿縣, in the province of Hopei.

⁸ 漳水. The river flows on the east of Fan-ssü-hsien 繁峙縣 in Shansi.

⁹ 犬戎. A northern barbarous tribe.

¹⁰ 當水.

. . . . and an order was given that his followers, organized under seven regiments, should learn the art of hunting.

The north wind blew on the day *kêng-yin* and snow fell. The emperor ordered his followers to stop and rest, because the weather was cold.

On *chia-wu*, the emperor proceeded to the west and soon crossed the hills of the Yü Gate or Pass¹¹ at the frontier. On the day *chi-hai*, the company arrived at the plains of Yen-chü¹² and Yü-chih.¹³

On the day *hsin-ch'ou*, the emperor marched on to the west and reached the kingdom of P'êng-jen.¹⁴ The people of this country were the descendants of Ho-tsung¹⁵ [the God of the River]. Po Hsü¹⁶ the duke of P'êng-en, proceeded to Chih-shih¹⁷ to welcome the royal guest, offering as presents ten leopards' skins and twenty-six good horses. Ching Li¹⁸ accepted the presents by the emperor's command.

On the day *kuei-yu*, the company camped in the neighborhood of the Ch'i Lake.¹⁹ The emperor went fishing in the River and paid a visit to the country of Chih-shih.

On *chia-shên*, the next day, the emperor went hunting in Ch'an-tsê²⁰ and captured a white fox and a black *lo*²¹ with which he made a sacrifice to the God of the River.

On *ping-wu*, two days later, a banquet was spread by the River and in Ch'an-tsê south of P'êng-jen the emperor reviewed his company, which was composed of six divisions of soldiers.

¹¹ 隴關. 隴 is pronounced like 俞. The pass goes through the mountains north-west of Tai-chou 代州, Shansi.

¹² 焉居.

¹³ 焉知.

¹⁴ 鵠人.

¹⁵ 河宗.

The [Ho] River is now called Huang-ho or the Yellow River.

¹⁶ 柏萊.

¹⁷ 智氏.

A country east of the Yang-yü Mountain.
¹⁸ 井利 later called Ching-kung 井公 or Duke Ching; the full name being Ching-kung Li 井公利. *Kung* is a title. The conferring of the honour upon Ching Li is recorded in the *Bamboo Annals*.

¹⁹ 漆澤.

²⁰ 滸澤.

澤 is an ancient form of 澤.

²¹ 貉 a kind of fox. The Ch'ên Fêng-hêng edition uses 貉 instead of 貉, which is also an animal resembling a fox.

On the day *mou-yin* the emperor made his way to the west, marching on as far as the Yang-yü Mountain,²² where in ancient days Wu Yi,²³ the God of the River, had established his family, the house of Ho-tsung. A member of this house, Po Yao,²⁴ welcomed the emperor at the Yen-jen Mountain,²⁵ offering as presents a piece of silk fabric and a *pi*²⁶ . . . The emperor ordered Chi Fu²⁷ to receive them.

On the day *kuei-ch'ou*, the emperor gave an audience on the Yen-jan Mountain, by the River. He ordered Ching Li and Liang Ku²⁸ to have the six divisions of soldiers ready at his disposal.

On the auspicious day *mou-wu*, the emperor robed himself appropriately in the ceremonial costume, the cap, the gown, the handkerchief, the girdle and the *fou*,²⁹ with ornamental hangings on both sides. And, holding a *pi* in his hands, he took his stand in Han-hsia,³⁰ facing the south. Tsêng Chu³¹ was the assistant at the ceremony. When the officials had arranged the sacrificial animals in their proper order, the emperor presented the *pi* to the God of the River. Po Yao received it from him, turned to the west and submerged the present in the River. After performing this he knelt before the Son of Heaven and touched his head to the earth many times. Tsêng Chu then submerged the sacrificial animals . . . the ox,

²² 陽紆山.

²³ 無夷 in the *Shan-hai-ching* or the *Classic of Hills and Seas* named Ping Yi 冰夷. This god, according to the classic 海內北經 has the face of a man and rides on two dragons. He lives in the Stream of Ts'ung-chi 從極, which is 300 feet deep. *Chuang-tzû* 莊子 and *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子 call him Fêng-yi 馮夷. And it is said that Fêng-yi became perfect 得道 and took up his abode in a big stream where he was made the god of the river. *Fêng* and *Ping* sound alike and 馮 is coined by the combination of *ping* and *ma*, therefore it is natural that these two words have been used interchangeably. *Wu* 無 is by no means a mistake.

²⁴ 伯天. 伯 is later written 柏. The two characters have the same pronunciation.

²⁵ 燕然山. The mountain is on the south of Kuei-sui-hsien 歸綏縣 in Suiyuan 綏遠.

²⁶ 璧 an ancient jade badge of office, made round with a hole.

²⁷ 鄒父.

²⁸ 梁固.

²⁹ 笏 is pronounced like 忽. The modern form is 笏 pronounced *hu*. It is a tablet nearly three feet long, made of ivory, precious stones, wood or bamboo, and was held before the breast by courtiers at audience as late as the Ming dynasty (A.D. 1368-1644).

³⁰ 寒下.

³¹ 曾祝.

the horse, the pig and the sheep. Then the God of the River appeared from the water and bearing good tidings from God he addressed the emperor by name, saying: "Mu Man,³² be Thou forever on the throne and may Thy rule be wise and prosperous!"

To the south the emperor bowed many times.

"Mu Man," continued the God of the River, "let me show Thee the precious articles of the Ch'un Mountain³³ and the beautiful palaces of K'un-lun,³⁴ where there are four plains from which flow seventy springs. Proceed, then, to the K'un-lun Mountain, and behold the precious articles of the Ch'un Mountain."

The voice dropped low and died away. The emperor listened to the heavenly decree with respect; and to the south he bowed again.

On the day *chi-wei* the emperor gave an audience on the Yellow Mountain,³⁵ where he inspected the map and the inscriptions on the precious vessels which were stored there for the Son of Heaven. It is said that the precious vessels of the emperor were made of beautiful jades, valuable stones, pure silver and pure gold. A precious vessel of the emperor cost ten thousand pieces of gold, . . . , a precious vessel of a scholar cost fifty pieces of gold and that of an ordinary person cost ten pieces of gold.

The bows and arrows of the emperor killed people very easily like the sword of Pu.³⁶ . . . The horses of the emperor ran a thousand *li* in one day, faster than any fast racing horses or any other powerful animals. His hounds ran a hundred *li* and were still strong enough to capture tigers and leopards.

"The hunting birds," Po Yao informed the emperor, "have powerful wings. The black eagle flies one hundred *li* and the heron flies eight hundred *li*. The common

³² 穆滿.

³³ 春山.

³⁴ 崑崙. This mountain was the centre of Chinese Mythology. It was a place where all the gods assembled as fully described in the *Classic of Hills and Seas*, *Huai-nan-tzu*, and many other books.

³⁵ 黃山. Pi Yuan 畢沅, Huo Yi-hsing 郝懿行 and other scholars think that the mountain was on the southwest of Hsing-p'ing-hsien 興平縣, Shensi. If so, the text must have been tampered with, because Shensi should have been visited by the emperor before Chinese Turkestan, where stood the K'un-lun Mountain.

³⁶ 步劍 an abbreviation of *pu-kuang* sword 步光劍, a famous weapon used by the King of Yueh 越王.

animals have strong legs. The young lion runs one thousand *li*, the wild horse runs five hundred *li*, the *ang-ang-chü-hsü*³⁷ runs one hundred *li* and the elk runs twenty *li*."

It is said that after performing all the ceremonies entitled to the family of the God of the River, Po Yao accompanied the emperor on his travels. Riding on Ch'ü-huang³⁸ he went forward in the vanguard of the company and led the march to the extreme west of the empire.

On the day *yi-ch'ou* the emperor passed over the River to the west. . . . There was in this region a valley called Lo-tu,³⁹ which was warm in the winter and in which there was a travelling resort of the family of Ho-ch'ung.

On *ping-yin*, the next day, by the decree of the emperor, all the officials were gathered for the inspection of the precious articles obtained. Chiao Fu,⁴⁰ the chief minister of state, was ordered to inspect the governments of the border states and see if the commands of the emperor were carried out in full.

The eight steeds of the emperor were then allowed to take their rest and had their drink in the little pool which had its source from the River, south of the Chi-shih⁴¹ Mountain. The eight steeds were called Ch'ih-chi, Tao-li, Pai-yi, Yü-lun, Shan-tzü, Ch'ü-huang, Hua-liu and Lu-erh.⁴²

The hounds of the emperor were named Chung-kung, Ch'eh-shan, Kuan-hsia, Chung-huang, Nan-tan and Lai-pai.⁴³

The drivers of the emperor's chariots were Tsao Fu, Ts'an Pai, Kêng Hsiao and San Chi.⁴⁴ It is said that

³⁷ 叩叩距虛 an animal like a horse. It has been described in the *Classic of Hills and Seas* 海外北經 as a common animal that lives in the northern seas.

³⁸ 渠黃. One of the eight steeds of the emperor.

³⁹ 樂都. Meaning a happy land.

⁴⁰ 郊父.

⁴¹ 積石山. Meaning the Mountain of Piled Stones. It is said that when the Great Emperor Yü 禹 of the Hsia 夏 dynasty (2205-2197 B.C.) was draining the country of the flood, he reshaped all the rivers' courses and led them to the seas. Here, the stones of this mountain were piled by him to check the rushing flow of the mighty flood.

⁴² 赤驥, 盜驪, 白義, 踰輪, 山子, 渠黃, 華騶, 綠耳.

⁴³ 重工, 徹山, 翟假, 中黃, 南丹, 來白.

⁴⁴ 造父, 秦百, 耿弇, 弓及.

these people accompanied the emperor on his hunts in the fields and his fishing trips to the ponds. The emperor would say to his followers:

"Alas! I myself have failed to fulfill the imperial duty of heavenly goodness to the people, and have indulged myself in earthly pleasures. Shall all my faults be remembered and shall I be blamed by future generations?"

"The future generations," the followers of the seven regiments would console him, "are looking forward to good years. They will be satisfied if their labours in the field prove prosperous; men and women have their food and clothes; and all are rich. If the officials attend to their offices in the proper way, Heaven will naturally bestow a good year upon the earth. . . . Therefore, why shouldn't Your Majesty seek for earthly pleasures, if Your Majesty does not forget to fulfill the Heavenly grace to your people and constantly to share the benefits with them?"

The emperor was very much pleased and granted them beautiful pieces of jade, which they hung on the left side. They knelt before him and touched their heads to the ground.

CHAPTER II.

A proclamation was issued by the emperor to Po Yao entrusting him to confer upon Mu Hua¹ the right to rule over the country south of the River, so that he would be able to offer sacrifices to the ancestor of the Yin² family.

On the day *ting-ssü* the emperor ascended the Mountain on the southwest. It was the domain of Mu Hua where big trees and large bushes spread wide, and wild animals were abundant. It was a good place for hunting.

On the day *mou-wu*, Chü Yü,³ of the people of Shou Yü,⁴ offered as presents one hundred measures of wine. After the entertainment the emperor advanced and halted

¹ 膜畫.

² 殷.

³ 居虞.

⁴ 葛余.

on the ridge of K'un-lun by the southern bank of the Red River.⁵ Here was a hill called Chên-niao⁶ and the emperor remained there for three days. . . .

On the auspicious day *hsin-yu* the emperor ascended the K'un-lun Mountain and visited the palaces of the Yellow Emperor.⁷ And, in order to identify the burial place of Fêng-lung⁸ for future generations, he heaped up earth upon his grave.

On the day *kuei-hai*, clean and purified sacrificial animals were prepared for the emperor to make sacrifice to the K'un-lun Mountain.

On the next day *chia-tzŭ*, the emperor marched on to the north and halted at Chu-tsé⁹ or the Pearl Pond, to fish in the running stream. It is said that the marshes of the Pearl Pond were thirty *li* square, and in them grew all kinds of reeds and rushes including *kuan*, *wei*, *yüan*, *p'u*, *mao*, *fu*, *chien* and *yao*.¹⁰

. . . . Wu,¹¹ of the people of K'un-lun, presented to the emperor three hundred horses, and three thousand cattle for food. The emperor conferred on him the right to rule over the country of K'un-lun and be responsible for looking after the Palaces of the Yellow Emperor. He was also to take good care of the Red River on the south and the precious articles of the Ch'un Mountain on the north. The emperor also bestowed on him thirty-five gold bracelets, thirty shell ornaments with red ribbons and thirty-four beautiful pieces of fabric. . . . Wu accepted the gifts after the ceremony of prostration. Moreover, the emperor gave him twenty-six yellow oxen . . . , with which to make sacrifice to the K'un-lun Mountain.

On the day *ting-mao*, in the last month of the summer, the emperor ascended the Ch'un Mountain on the north, from where he could see the wilderness stretching in four directions.

⁵ 赤水. According to the *Classic of Hills and Seas*, the river flows out of the southeastern corner of the K'un-lun Mountain.

⁶ 鵲. 鵲 pronounced like 鵲.

⁷ 黃帝. The so-called father of the Chinese race, who is supposed to have ruled the empire in peace from 2697 B.C. for one hundred years.

⁸ 豐隆. The god of the clouds, who is mentioned in the *Ch'u-tz'ü* 楚辭 (composed during the time of the Warring States), *Huai-nan-tz'ü*, etc.

⁹ 珠澤.

¹⁰ 菴, 葦, 蒲, 茅, 蕒, 藜, 蓼.

¹¹ 口吾. The name is incomplete.

It is said that the mountain was the highest mountain on earth. The flowers of *tsü-mu*,¹² which grew on the peak, were not afraid of snow. The emperor gathered some of the seeds and planted them in his royal garden when he returned from the excursion.

It is also said that on the Ch'un Mountain, there was a pond which was filled by a spring of pure and warm water. There was no violent wind to disturb the peace of the pond and it was here that birds of the sky and animals of the earth gathered for their drink. This is the place which our ancestors called Hsien-pu¹³ or the Hanging Garden. The emperor kept in this garden the best specimens of the *yü-ts'é* and *chih-ssü* jade.¹⁴

Again it is said that the Ch'un Mountain was the home of all sorts of animals and the resting place for all the birds in the sky. Here was a kind of fierce animal which devoured tiger and leopard. It was like an elk, but thinner, . . . it also resembled a small hornless deer with a small head and a big nose. Here were the red leopard, the white tiger, the bear, the jackal, the wild horse, the wild buffalo, the goat and the wild boar. Here were also the white bird and the black hawk which could capture a big goat and devour a boar and a deer.

And again, it is said that the emperor roamed over the Ch'un Mountain for five days, and on the rock of the Hanging Garden he engraved for future generations a record of this visit.

¹² 攀木. According to the *Classic of Hills and Seas*, on the Mi Hill 壘山, there is the *tan* tree 丹木, with round leaves, red branches, yellow flowers and red fruit. Its fruit tastes sweet and those who eat it never feel hungry again. The book (in the *Classic on Western Hills*) further says that after being watered with liquid jade for five years, the five colours of the tree become distinct and the five essences delicious. Ch'ên Fêng-hêng thinks that *tsü-mu* and *tan-mu* signify the same plant.

¹³ 縣圃. The K'un-lun Mountain, according to the *Huai-nan-tzû*, has a height of 11,000 *li* and is divided into three elevations, which are called Tsêng-ch'êng 曾城, Liang-fêng 閼風, and Hsien-pu 縣圃. 縣 is sometimes written as 玄, both having the same pronunciation. But according to the *Classic of Hills and Seas*, Hsien-pu is a hill separated from the K'un-lun Mountain and is the garden of the Heavenly God. The latter was written some hundred years before the former, which was written in the Han dynasty, and it is interesting to notice how Chinese mythology tends to combine them and form a longer and richer story.

¹⁴ 玉策 and 枝斯.

On the day *jen-shên* the emperor rode to the west and on *chia-hsü*, two days later, he arrived at Ch'ih Niao,¹⁵ or the domain of the Red Bird. Ch'i,¹⁶ of the Red Bird tribe, presented to the emperor one thousand measures of wine, nine hundred horses for food, three thousand cattle and one hundred carts fully loaded with millet and wheat. Chi Fu accepted the presents by the emperor's order.

It is said that the head of the house of the Red Bird was a descendant of the royal family of Chou. When Tan Fu,¹⁷ an early ancestor of the family, first developed the region on the west, he conferred on his eldest son the right to rule over the country of Eastern Wu, with the title of the Great Earl of Wu,¹⁸ giving him as a token a slab of gold and the precious jade of the Chou house. He also conferred on his favourite minister, Chang Chi-ch'o¹⁹ the right to rule over the valley of the Ch'un Mountain, marrying him to his eldest daughter and giving him as a token a slab of jade. There his minister ruled and performed sacrifices to the ancestors of the Chou house. Therefore, the emperor bestowed upon Ch'i four black carriages, forty *i*²⁰ of gold, fifty girdles made of shell and three hundred pearls. Ch'i accepted the gift after prostrating himself.

It is said that the Ch'un Mountain was the richest mountain in the world, a store of precious stones and valuable jades. It was a place where the most flourishing crops grew and the trees were tall and the bushes beautiful. The emperor gathered some species of these excellent crops so that he might cultivate them in the central kingdom when he returned.

It is also said that the emperor rested at the foot of the mountain for five days and amused himself with the *kuang* music. Ch'i then presented to the emperor many beautiful women. Among them, Lady T'ing and Lady Lieh²¹ soon became his favourite concubines. It is said that the country of the Red Bird was famous for its beautiful women and valuable jade.

¹⁵ 赤鳥.

¹⁶ 刁, being an ancient form of 其.

¹⁷ 瞿父 is also called Ku-kung 古公.

¹⁸ 吳太伯.

¹⁹ 長季綽.

²⁰ 鎰. A weight of the Chou dynasty, equal to 20 taels.

²¹ 女聽, 女列.

On the day *chi-mao*, the emperor marched on to the north, driving forward without taking any rest, until on *kêng-shên* he crossed the Yang River,²² and on the next day, *hsin-ssü*, he arrived at the domain of Ts'ao Nu.²³ Hsi²⁴ of this people, entertained the emperor at a banquet on the bank of the Yang River, offering as presents nine hundred horses for food, seven thousand cattle and one hundred carts-full of millet and rice. Fêng Ku²⁵ accepted the presents by the emperor's command. Then the emperor bestowed on Hsi a deer made of gold, a muntjac made of silver, forty girdles made of shell and four hundred pearls. Hsi accepted the gifts after prostrating himself.

On the day *jen-wu* the emperor rode to the north and turned eastward on his way back, arriving at the Black River²⁶ on the day *chia-shên*. The people of the wild west called the river Hung-lu.²⁷ It rained for seven days and the emperor stopped to wait for the soldiers of the six divisions. Here he conferred on Ch'ang-kung²⁸ of the Long-armed People the right to rule over the western portion of the Black River and held him responsible for making sacrifice to the ancestors of the Chou house. The state, now called Liu Kuo²⁹ or the State of Detention, is on the river Hung-lu.

On the day *hsin-mao* the company proceeded northward and turned to the east by the Black River on their way back, arriving on *kuei-ssü* at the Ch'ün-yü Mountain³⁰ in the domain of the house of Jung Ch'êng.³¹

It is said that the mountain was smooth and straight on the four sides and not dangerous. It was the place where ancient kings used to keep their books and scriptures. Of birds and animals there were none, and vegetation and trees were very scarce. There was a tree which the people of the wild west called *yao*.³² Here the

²² 洋水. According to the *Classic of Hills and Seas*, the river flows out of the northwestern corner of the K'un-lun Mountain.

²³ 曹奴.

²⁴ 戲.

²⁵ 逢岡.

²⁶ 黑水.

²⁷ 鴻臚.

²⁸ 長貳. According to the *Classic of Hills and Seas*, the arms of this people reach to the ground while standing.

²⁹ 留國.

³⁰ 羣玉山.

³¹ 容成氏.

³² 樛.

emperor obtained three cart loads of jade vessels and ornaments, containing ten thousand pieces of precious stones. He stopped on the mountain for four days and ordered his followers to dig for precious stones.

On *ting-yu*, in the first month of autumn, the emperor rode to the north. Ch'ien-shih³³ of Ch'un-yu feasted the emperor in Yü-ling,³⁴ and offered his royal guest many good horses and cattle. The emperor did not accept the presents because an enormous amount of jade and precious stones had already been obtained from this country. "This house," remarked Po Yao, "is the descendant of Hsien. . . ." ³⁵ The emperor then bestowed upon his host thirty-six gold cups and three hundred pearls. Hsien-shih accepted the gifts after the ceremony of prostration.

On the day *mou-hsü*, the emperor rode westward and arrived at the domain of I Lü³⁶ on *hsin-ch'ou*. The company stopped at the foot of the Iron Mountain³⁷ and the emperor ordered the people of this country to supply the six divisions of soldiers with provisions.

On *jen-yin*, the emperor ascended the Iron Mountain, where he gave to the people of this country all the sacrificial vessels with which he had offered sacrifice to the mountain. Wên Kuei³⁸ accepted the gifts with the ceremony of prostration. When the ceremony had been performed the emperor started out again to the west.

On the day *ping-wu*, the emperor arrived at the domain of the family of Chên Han.³⁹ There was a paradise in this country where the weather was calm and warm; millet and wheat prosperous; dogs, horses and cattle flourishing, and precious jades abundant.

On the day *ting-wei*, the emperor held an audience on this plain and ordered the soldiers to take their rest. On *chi-yu*, he gave a big banquet to the ministers of state, the royal princes, the feudal lords, the officials and the

³³ 潛時. It is 皆 instead of 時 in Ch'ên Fêng-hêng's edition.

³⁴ 羽陵.

³⁵ 檻口.

³⁶ 剡閭. 剡 pronounced like 倚.

³⁷ 鑛山. It is 鐵 instead of 鑛 in Ch'ên Fêng-hêng's edition.

³⁸ 溫歸.

³⁹ 鸛韓.

companies of the seven regiments. Wu Fu⁴⁰ of the tribe of Chên Han offered to him one hundred good horses, three hundred draught cows, seven thousand good dogs, two hundred camels,⁴¹ three hundred wild horses, two thousand cattle and three hundred carts full of millet and wheat. The emperor gave him in return some gold, forty-seven silver cups, fifty shell girdles, three hundred pearls . . . and some musical instruments. Wu Fu accepted the gifts by prostrating himself before the emperor and performed the ceremony once more when he had left the royal platform.

On the day *kêng-hsü*, the emperor marched on to the west and arrived at Hsüan-ch'ih,⁴² or the Black Pond, where he rested for three days. The *kuang* music was played and continued for three days, so people named the place. "The Music Pond." Here he also planted some bamboo and called the place Chu-lin⁴³ [Bamboo Forest].

On *kuei-ch'ou*, the emperor rode westward, arriving at K'u-shan⁴⁴ [Bitter Mountain]. The name of the wild west was Mao-yüan⁴⁵ [Garden of Prosperity]. The emperor stopped for hunting and here he tasted the bitter herb.⁴⁶

On the day *ting-hsü*, the emperor marched on westward and on *chi-wei* the company stayed for the night to the west of Huang-shu-shan⁴⁷ [Yellow Rat Mountain]. . . . They proceeded westward until on *kuei-hai* they arrived at the domain of Hsi-wang-mu⁴⁸ [or the Royal Mother of the West].

⁴⁰ 無 冕.

⁴¹ 犛 牛. There are two kinds of camels, one has two humps and the other has only one. The former is common in China, called *lo-t'o* 駱 駝, while the other is uncommon, so called *fang-niu* 犛 牛 meaning a hunchbacked cow.

⁴² 玄 池.

⁴³ 竹 林.

⁴⁴ 菩 山.

⁴⁵ 茂 苑.

⁴⁶ 菩.

⁴⁷ 黃 鼠 山.

⁴⁸ 西 王 母 an interesting character in Chinese mythology. More about her will be found in the next chapter. In an article, "The Classic of Hills and Seas and its Mythology," the writer has given a more detailed account of this semi-devil, semi-goddess. (cf. *Shih Hsüeh Nien Pao* 史 學 年 報, No. 4).

CHAPTER III.¹

On the auspicious day *chia-tzŭ*, the emperor carrying a white *kuei*² and a black *pi* paid a visit to the Royal Mother of the West. To her he offered as presents one hundred pieces of embroidered silk and three hundred pieces of *wu*³ fabric. After bowing many times, the Royal Mother accepted the presents.

On *yi-ch'ou*, the next day, the emperor invited the Royal Mother to a banquet on Yao-ch'ih⁴ [Emerald Pond]. During the occasion she sang extempore:

"Hills and mountains come in view
As fleecy clouds ascend the sky.
Far and wide, divided by waters and mountain ranges
Our countries separately lie.
Should long life preserve thee,
Come again."

To this the emperor responded:

"When I to east return
To millions bringing order and peace;
When they enjoy prosperity and ease
To thee shall I return;
From this day count three years
To this country again I shall come."

The emperor then rode on the Hsi Mountain⁵ and on the rocks engraved a record of this visit. He planted a memorial tree of sophora and named the place the Hsi-wang-mu-shan [Mountain of the Royal Mother of the West].

From here the emperor took his way back to the east. He was sad and distressed as he thought of his people at home and expressed his sorrow by composing the following poem:

¹ The first part of this chapter has been translated by Mr. Baen Lee, published in the *China Journal*, VII, 1, pp. 15-16, entitled "*The Banquet on the Emerald Pond*." I have followed the first part of Mr. Lee's work closely, here and there altering a word or two to accord with my own style. I do not follow the latter part of his work because his story does not agree with the text. He has wrongly attributed the poem of the emperor to the people, who certainly took no part in the banquet on the Emerald Pond.

² 圭. A small stone sceptre given to nobles as a sign of rank, and held in both hands at levees. The size varies according to the bearer's rank.

³ 語.

⁴ 瑤池.

"In the distant west she rules,
Happily on the wide, wide plain,
Accompanied by tigers and leopards,
Sleeping with crows and jackdaws.

The Heavenly decree changes not
A son of Heaven I am made,
But the will of Heaven I follow not,
Leaving my people in distress.

Tears suddenly fill my eyes
When the parting music⁵ is sounding,
And my heart is filled with sadness
As I think of my millions, hoping for my return."

On the day *ting-wei*, the emperor took a drink at Wên-shan⁷ [Hot Mountain], and went out fowling the next day, *mou-shên*. The following day, he drank at the bank of the Ju River⁸ and gave order to the six divisions of soldiers to gather together.

In this region there were forests, marshy swamps and ponds full of water, and there were also smooth plains and high plateaux where big birds scattered their feathers. Now the six divisions of soldiers had concentrated in this wide region where it is said the emperor stayed for three months.

On the day *kuei-ch'ou*, the emperor gave a big banquet to the ministers of state, the royal princes, the feudal lords, the officials and all the companies of the seven regiments in Yü-ch'in,⁹ a higher plain in this wide region. The *kuang* music was sounded . . . and the soldiers started out on horseback on their expedition with their hounds before them. The hunting was carried on for fully nine days and they captured all the birds and animals in this region, the number of victims being countless. On the plain Yü-ch'in they presented all they had obtained. The good furs and the beautiful feathers were carefully selected and carried home in their carriages. The emperor had for himself one hundred carriages full.

⁵ 翁山.

⁶ The text is 吹笙鼓簧, which literally means "the playing of the organ and the sounding of the reed organ."

⁷ 溫山.

⁸ 海水. The river flows by the north of An-ting-hsien 安定縣 Shensi.

⁹ 羽圻.

On the day *chi-hai*, the emperor returned eastward followed by the six divisions of soldiers. The next day, *kêng-tzü*, the emperor reached. . . . Mountain and stopped to await the arrival of his retinue.

On the day *kêng-shên*, the emperor proceeded to the east and on *kuei-wei*, he arrived at the Mou. . . . Mountain,¹⁰ where the Chih family made their home. . . . The people of the Chih family welcomed the emperor at the Mou. . . . Mountain, offering as presents two teams of three white horses, forty wild horses and wild buffaloes, and seventy dogs. They presented in addition four hundred horses and three thousand cattle for food.

It is said that the Chih family. . . .

The emperor made a trip to Shih-tzü-tsê,¹¹ or the Lion Lake, on the north, where the people of the Chih family presented one hundred measures of wine. The emperor gave them in return a piece of fabric made of dog's fur, twenty-nine gold cups, forty shell girdles, three hundred red pearls, one hundred *kang*¹² of cassia and ginger. . . . They accepted the gifts with the ceremony of prostration.

On the day *yi-yu*, the emperor rode southward and took his way back to the east arriving at the Chao-lu Mountain¹³ on *Chi-hai*. The mountain rose on three sides like a city wall in which were settled the families of O¹⁴ and Hu.¹⁵

The emperor hurried on eastward crossing the desert on the south. On the day *hsin-ch'ou*, he was thirsty and water could not be obtained in the desert, so Kao Pên-jung,¹⁶ a member of the seven regiments, stabbed the left horse of his chariot in the neck and presented a drink of pure blood to his royal master. The emperor was very much pleased and gave him a piece of ornamental jade, which the soldier received by kneeling down and touching his head to the ground.

¹⁰ 戊口山.

¹¹ 獅子澤. 獅 is an ancient form of 獅 meaning "lion."

¹² 鎰. An ancient weight, the amount of which is now unknown. The pronunciation is unknown too, and I pronounce it "*kang*" only because it is similar to the character 崗. There is no basis for such a sound.

¹³ 爪嶺山.

¹⁴ 闕氏.

¹⁵ 胡氏.

¹⁶ 高奔戎.

The emperor then proceeded southward and reached the end of the Piled Stone Mountain¹⁷ range where he found cypresses growing abundantly.

It is said that Ming Huai¹⁸ of Shou-yu presented wine to the emperor and the emperor rewarded him with a gold cup, a shell girdle and seventy red pearls. Ming Huai accepted the gift after the ceremony of prostration. . . . Chu Kan¹⁹ also presented wine to the emperor and was rewarded as the former. Chu Kan also accepted the gift after the ceremony of prostration.

¹⁷ 積石山. Ch'ên Fêng-hêng inclines to think that this mountain is the Small Piled Stone Mountain 小積石山, to which is also attached the story of the Great Emperor Yü. Duplications of Chinese geographical names occur very often on the map and in the records of the Classics. The writer has published an article on this subject in the *Yenching Journal*, No. 11, in which he tries to prove that these duplications are caused by the migrations of the Chinese people.

¹⁸ 命懷.

¹⁹ 諸鈇.

NOTES SUR LES ALPHABETS LÜ DU YÜN-NAN ET LES DENOMINATIONS ETHNIQUES DONNEES AUX T'AY

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L'alphabet que nous reproduisons ici est celui des T'ay Lü de Müông La (I) (chinois, Mêng La 猛喇), à l'extrémité sud-ouest du Yün-nan.

L'écriture t'ay du Yün-nan ou "shane orientale", d'origine indienne, a fait l'objet d'une remarquable étude fondamentale de M. Louis Finot dans ses "Recherches sur la littérature laotienne" (*B.É.F.E.O.*, t. XVII, n° 5). Ce savant a pris l'écriture des manuscrits lü de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient comme type de celle des "Etats shans chinois". Ces mss. proviennent d'un groupe lü établi dans la région de Lai-châu (4ème Territoire militaire, Tonkin) et venu de la principauté de Müông U (Laos), partie intégrante, avant 1895, des Sip-song P'anna ou royaume lü rattaché au Yün-nan. Cette écriture "shane" est considérée comme une variété du *tham* ou écriture sacrée (*ibid.*, pl. IV), dont elle n'est séparée que par quelques nuances (*id.*, p. 22 & 27).

Mais, P. Lefèvre-Pontalis¹ avait déjà donné la reproduction de deux alphabets lü, l'un de Xěng Hung (chinois, Chiu-lung-chiang 九龍江), capitale des Sip-song P'an-na, l'autre de Müông Sing, ancienne principauté lü indépendante, actuellement réunie au Laos. Ceux-ci, présentés d'ailleurs d'une manière plus ou moins incohérente alors que les Lü suivent l'usage classique, diffèrent sensiblement² de celui décrit par M. Finot et sont presque semblables au nôtre, ainsi qu'une étude comparative le fait nettement ressortir. Il faut donc admettre qu'il existe plusieurs écritures lü et que la plus répandue, malgré les assurances reçues par ce dernier

¹ Etude de quelques alphabets et vocabulaires thaïs, *T'oung-pao*, vol. III, 1892, p. 59; L'invasion thaïe en Indo-Chine, *ibid.*, mars 1897, p. 69.

² Un tiers des lettres environ est différent.

auteur, n'est justement pas celle qu'il a choisie. Au demeurant, il ne pouvait guère agir autrement, car les alphabets de P. Lefèvre-Pontalis, non accompagnés de textes ou de larges spécimens de ces écritures, présentaient des erreurs de lecture et des lacunes trop importantes. Ainsi, comme M. Finot l'entrevoyait pour l'ensemble de ses notes (*ibid.*, p. 3), l'étude de l'écriture lü qu'il a amorcée appelle une révision et des compléments.

L'alphabet que nous donnons, tel qu'il a été transcrit par un ancien moine de M. La, ne prétend pas à être complet. Il y manque certainement les labiales spirantes et les nasales de la série haute (hm, hn, . . .). Il serait indispensable d'y ajouter un tableau des groupes, abréviations et sigles, sans lequel le déchiffrement de cette écriture contractée devient un labeur de bénédictin. Nous le versions cependant au dossier en cet état, comme document d'attente, visant seulement à orienter les chercheurs jusqu'au jour où, après des enquêtes exhaustives en pays lü, une étude générale de ces écritures pourra être utilement entreprise. On peut, à ce propos, regretter que la Mission américaine presbytérienne résidant à Xèng Hung depuis treize ans n'ait rien publié dans ce domaine.

* * *

L'alphabet que nous avons recueilli offre ceci de remarquable qu'il est récitaé dans l'ordre traditionnel des alphabets indiens et concorde parfaitement avec le tableau de l'écriture tham dressé par M. Finot (*id.*, p. 16, pl. IV). Toutefois les semi-voyelles sont énoncées avant les dentales. Interrompant le rythme quinaire après les labiales, le récitaant accentue uniformément chaque semi-voyelle et termine par *ta*, *t'a*, *da*, *t'a*, *na*, sur le rythme précédent. En suivant fidèlement la présentation logique et claire de M. Finot, nous avons eu en vue, non seulement de nous conformer à son souci généalogique—si l'on peut dire—, mais encore d'aider aux recherches comparatives et à la lecture des transcriptions du pâli, langue qui est largement prodiguée dans les textes religieux des Lü, bouddhistes hinayanistes. A côté de la prononciation courante, nous avons donc aussi noté entre crochets, pour certaines lettres, leur valeur dans cette transcription.

Les anciennes sonores sont imprimées en italique.

Pour se conformer à l'usage, les consonnes doivent être énoncées avec la voyelle *a* et les voyelles précédées de la consonne *k*.

Quant à l'extension—que nous savons importante—de cette écriture dans les Sip-song P'an-na, nous attendrons pour l'établir d'être en possession de relevés d'alphabets faits dans les différents centres de ce territoire. Nous négligerons les témoignages—même positifs—recueillis par nous, pendant notre long séjour près de Müöng La.

* * *

Pour restituer tout son prix au chapitre de M. Finot sur l'écriture "shane", nous nous permettrons de rectifier, avec références aux autorités, quelques inexactitudes et imprécisions qui se sont glissées dans son texte. Comme on en jugera, elles sont suffisamment importantes et d'une portée assez générale pour justifier notre audace.

L'étonnante identité proposée (*ibid.*, p. 20) entre les appellations *Shan* et *Lü* ne peut être acceptée. Si les *Lü* sont des Shans, au sens birman et anglais du terme,—c'est-à-dire des T'ay— la réciproque n'est pas vraie. Les *Lü* ne forment qu'une des tribus shanes (2); à la vérité, une des mieux définies par son individualité ethnique et politique marquée. Dans l'aire triangulaire assignée par l'auteur aux Shans, les autres tribus sont les suivantes: *Gnëw*, *K'ön*, *Pong*, *Gnang* ou *Yang*, *T'ay Maw* (*T'ay K'é*), *T'ay Yo*, *T'ay Lëm* ou *Rëm*, *T'ay Ew lay*, *Tay blancs du Yün-nan*, etc..... Le P. Th. Guignard³ qui après avoir omis dans son introduction les tribus ci-dessus en range à la page 37, d'après les Laotiens, un certain nombre parmi les Birmans (*sic*), paraît être, en partie, responsable de cette erreur.

Le mot *shan* (*chan*), emprunté au birman (*Cf.* Syëm ou Siam), ne signifie pas autre chose que *t'ay*. Les explorateurs anglais des pays t'ay, venus pour la plupart de Birmanie, comme le major H. R. Davies, ont introduit dans la terminologie européenne l'appellation de *Shan* pour l'ensemble de la famille ethnique (3), au lieu de celle de *T'ay* ou *Tay*, suivant le dialecte, sous laquelle ses membres se désignent eux-mêmes, quelle que soit leur tribu. Les missionnaires américains du Siam (Dr. W. C. Dodd, le Rév. J. H. Freeman) ont heureusement réagi contre cette habitude; ils restituèrent à la famille son appellation et à chaque tribu son propre nom qui, le plus souvent, est celui sous lequel elle est connue des tribus congénères. Depuis la mission Pavie, il est d'usage, chez

³ *Dictionnaire laotien-français*, Hongkong, Imp. de Nazareth, 1912.

les auteurs français, de restreindre la dénomination de *Shan* aux T'ay de Birmanie, quelquefois à ceux de Chine, Lü exceptés. C'est avec cette convention que M. Finot a tenté de rompre, d'ailleurs fort malheureusement.

Nous proposons de réserver le terme de *Shan* exclusivement aux T'ay de Birmanie et, particulièrement, à ceux qui n'ont qu'une appellation géographique. Par exemple, les *T'ay nō*, T'ay du nord ou de l'amont, *T'ay taō*, T'ay du sud ou de l'aval, noms donnés à des tribus différentes suivant celle du sujet parlant et, par conséquent, imprécis et créateurs de confusions; *T'ay Nam K'am*, du nom de la rivière qui arrose leur région, etc... (4) Quant aux autres tribus t'ay de Birmanie, elles ont des appellations qu'on énonce généralement sans les faire précéder de *T'ay* ou de *Shan*. Ce sont les K'ön (Xêng Tung), Gnëw (Etat de Xêng Tung), Pong, Lü, etc.—La règle onomastique que nous venons de proposer semble se faire jour dans l'esprit des officiels et des savants anglais de Birmanie (5), mieux au fait que par le passé des questions t'ay. Nous ajouterons qu'il nous paraît aussi inopportun d'appeler *Shans* tous les T'ay que de les appeler *Pa-yi*, à l'imitation des Chinois, ou *Law* parce qu'ils sont de la même famille que les Laotiens (6).

Ce sont les Lü et non pas les T'ay K'è qui forment une agglomération particulièrement dense dans les Sip-song P'an-na (L. Finot, p. 21), affirmation d'ailleurs implicitement rectifiée plus loin (*ibid.*, p. 26, n. 3). Les T'ay K'è (T'ay chinois), ainsi appelés par leurs congénères de Birmanie ou T'ay nō, selon le nom qu'ils se donnent eux-mêmes et que leur donnent les Lü, constituent la population dominante des principautés t'ay situées au nord des Sin-song P'an-na, c'est-à-dire; Kōng Ma (chinois, Kēng Ma 耿馬), Mōng Myèn (Mien-ning T'ing 緬寧廳), Mōng Ti (Nan-tien 南甸), Mōng Wan (Lung ch'uan 隴川), Mōng Xēng (Chên-k'ang 鎮康), etc...

Quant aux Lü, afin de mieux faire connaître leur tribu nettement caractérisée, nous résumerons la partie onomastique et démographique de l'étude très documentée que nous leur avons consacrée (7).

Leur nom est celui qu'ils se donnent eux-mêmes et que leur donnent leurs voisins. Les Chinois les nomment *Shui Pa-yi* (水擺, ou 百, ou 白, 夷, T'ay d'eau) avec d'autres T'ay ripuaires et parfois, dans leurs écrits, *Mang Jen* (莽人), mais surtout *Ch'é-li* (車里), du nom chinois de l'ancienne capitale des Sip-song P'an-na. Les Lü occupent une aire géographique approximativement

1

	Sourdes				Sonores (anciennes)		Nasales	
	Inspirées		Aspirées		Inspirées		Aspirées	
Gutturales	ك	خ	ق	ق'	ك	ك [g]	ك'	ك' [gh]
Palatales	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي	ي [j]	ي	ي [jh]
Labiales	ب	پ	ف	ف'	ب	ب [b]	ب	ب' [bh]
Dentales	ت	ث	د	ذ	د	د, ذ [d]	د	د' [dh]
Semi-voyelles	و	و	و	و	و	و	و	و

2°—VOYELLES.

ကေ kə
ကိ kǐ
ကီ kī
ကာ kǎ
ကော kō
ကု kū
ကွ kōu
ကေ kə

« Prononciation dialectale de k'wa

3° Exemples de consonnes groupées.

nán kǎn etc....

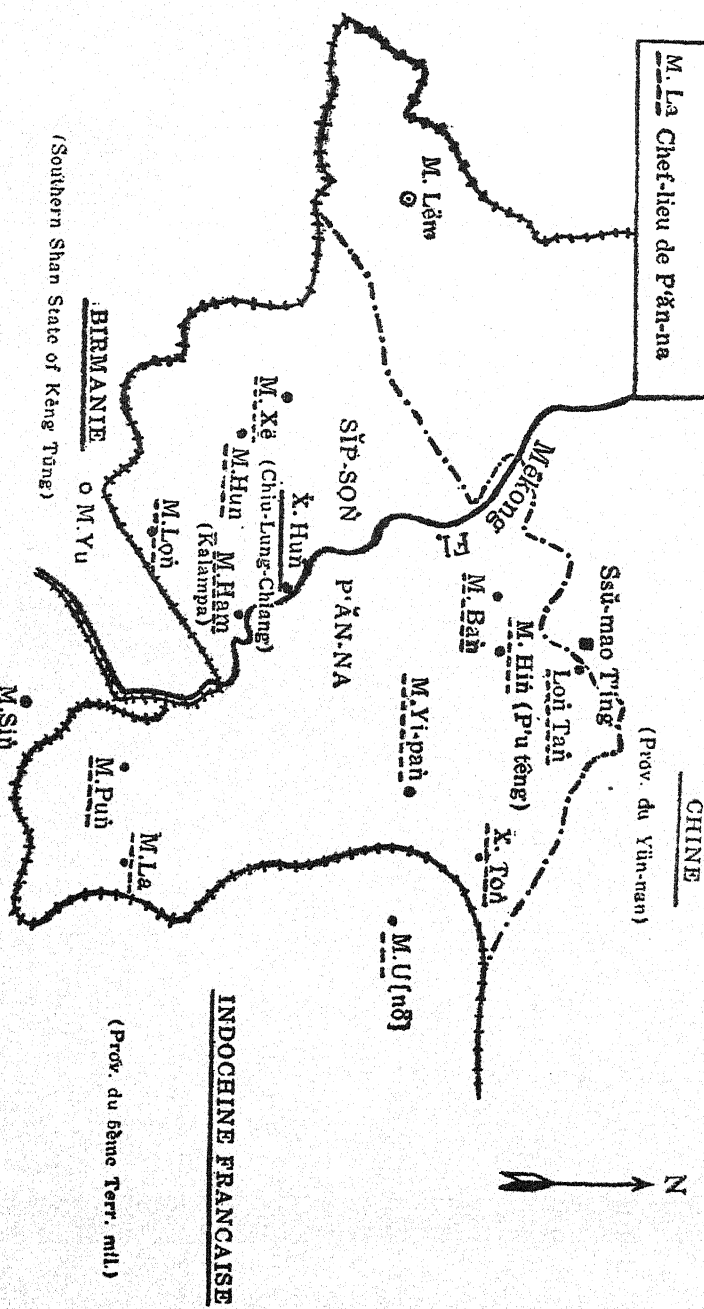
ALPHABET LU de Müöng LA (Yün-nan).

LEGENDE

--- Limite d'États.

--- Limite des S.S. P'ân-na

--- M. La Chef-lieu de P'ân-na



Echelle:
1 : 2.000.000.

CROQUIS DES SIP-SONG P'ÂN-NA
(Chefs-lieux d'après la Mission Doudart de Lagrée.
N.B.: Les planches suivent la transcription régulière.)

délimitée à l'ouest par le 99e méridien E. de Greenwich, au nord par le 23e parallèle N., au sud par le 15e et à l'est par une ligne joignant Luang-Prabang à Lao-kay. Mais, ils ne peuplent pas cette surface avec une égale densité. C'est dans les Sip-song P'an-na qu'ils constituent le groupement le plus important et le plus homogène. C'est de ce royaume, leur véritable patrie, qu'ils ont émigré à des dates plus ou moins récentes pour fonder des colonies dans le reste du quadrilatère ci-dessus (8). Les petits groupes du Tonkin au sud-est et à l'est du plateau du Taping (région de Biñ-lü) ont comme origine des partis qui vinrent s'établir dans les 12 cantons tay de la Rivière noire comme soldats mercenaires ou à la suite d'incursions guerrières. L'importante population lü du Laos siamois provient de diverses émigrations et déportations, au cours des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, notamment à la suite des guerres des Birmans contre les Siamois et les Laotiens. Depuis la soumission du Ch'é-li aux Mongols dont les expéditions traversèrent ce pays à la fin du XIIIe siècle, les migrations des Lü furent provoquées par les guerres extérieures, les luttes féodales, les révoltes et les épisodes de piraterie qui constituent toute l'histoire de leur royaume (9).

D'après divers recensements démographiques, il y a approximativement 13.500 Lü dans l'Indochine française et 18.000 en Birmanie. Il y en aurait environ 256.000 en Chine, d'après l'évaluation à l'estime du Rév. W. C. Dodd (10). Il n'existe aucun renseignement statistique pour le Siam. Le major E. Seidenfaden propose le chiffre de 600.000 âmes pour la totalité des Lü. Mais, ayant disposé d'informations plus objectives, nous pensons que celui de 300.000 est plus près de la réalité.

Les Sip-song P'an-na sont appelés par les Chinois *Ch'é-li* (車里), plus rarement *Shih-erh-pan-na* (十二板納) et, quelquefois, dans les littératures annamite et t'ay: *Müông Lü* ou pays lü par excellence (11). Le sens de la locution t'ay: Sip-song P'an-na a été très discuté et, à notre avis, sans raison. En lü, *sip-song* signifie douze, *p'an*, mille et *na*, rizière. Le sens littéral est donc de 12 mille-rizières. En raison du tour concret qu'affectionne la pensée extrême-orientale, un territoire c'est 1000 rizières. Cette expression figurative a donc le sens de 12 territoires. La traduction *pan*, partager (*Pan-na*, partage ou division de rizières, d'où territoire) est un contre-sens, car ce mot qui n'est qu'une forme t'ay orientale de *p'an* signifie aussi mille.

Ce royaume (12) constitue bien une confédération de 12 principautés relevant du Yün-nan (Préfecture de P'u-êrh 普洱)—sauf Müöng U réuni au Laos français—, mais la liste de celles-ci donnée (*ibid.*, p. 21) d'après L. de Reinach, auteur en général très sûrement informé, est déparée par deux grossières erreurs: Xëng Hung est placé sur la rive gauche du Mékong et Möng Lëm (Rëm) y est présenté comme la capitale des 4 P'an-na de la rive droite, alors que cette principauté indépendante, où les T'ay Lëm sont régnicoles, n'appartient pas aux Sip-song P'an-na (13). C'est le sens de l'article 5 de la convention anglo-chinoise du 1er Mai 1894 (Cession éventuelle du "Mung-lem et du Xieng-hung") et non la bicéphalie politique qu'a imaginée l'auteur cité sur la foi de nous ne savons quel renseignement. L'énumération des P'an-na n'offre qu'un intérêt relatif, en raison des variations considérables des listes publiées, variations dûes à des causes diverses et compliquées. Nous donnons, d'après Francis Garnier, une liste relevée auprès du roi et où Xëng Hung n'est pas compris dans les 12 principautés. (14)

Rive gauche du Mékong: M. La tay ou Ssü-mao T'ing (actuellement, Long-tang), M. Pung, M. La, M.U. X. Tong, M. Yi-pang, M. Bang, M. Hing (P'u têng);

Rive droite: M. Xë (M. Së ou M. Kié des cartes), M. Long, M. Hun, M. Ham (15).

Le gouvernement provincial du Yün-nan n'exerce sur ce territoire qu'une suzeraineté purement nominale, se contentant d'en tirer des revenus fiscaux et d'en exploiter les principales richesses économiques (sel, thé et coton).

* * *

L'étude des alphabets lü n'épuise pas la question des écritures d'origine indienne au Yün-nan. Bien que M. Finot ait choisi l'écriture lü comme type de celle des principautés t'ay de Chine, nous savons, par le témoignage du major (depuis général) H. R. Davies que les T'ay septentrionaux du Yün-nan ont deux alphabets, l'un religieux et l'autre profane. Le premier ressemblerait à l'écriture birmane et le deuxième à celle de Shans. Or, tout nous porte à croire que celui-ci n'est autre que le descendant direct de l'écriture "pa-yi" du *Hua-i-yi-yü* (華夷譯語) (16). Ce graphisme employé par les T'ay K'ë au moins du XVe au XVIIIe siècle n'a pas été étudié convenablement et a été mal classifié. De plus, il n'a fait l'objet d'aucun travail comparatif alors que, depuis

1892, l'épigraphie indochinoise a fait des progrès très marqués. Nous avons tenté de réparer ces lacunes dans une de nos études à paraître.

NOTES.

Les transcriptions suivies sont, pour le t'ay, autant que l'a permis la fonte, celle recommandée par l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris (Voy. *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. XXVIII, p. 312) (*x* est à peu près l'occlusive prépalato-dentale notée *ch* en romanisation annamite) et, pour le chinois, la transcription Wade.

Les cartes à consulter sont, pour l'ensemble des pays t'ay, la "Carte de l'Indo-Chine, dressée sous la direction de M. Pavie..... revue en 1921 par le colonel Friguegnon" (Echelle 1:2.000.000), Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1922; pour le Yün-nan, "Map of Yün-nan" de H. R. Davies (Echelle 1:1.267.200), London, War Office, 1908 et annexe à son ouvrage (*v. infra*) et, pour les Sip-song P'an-na en particulier, notre croquis et ceux joints aux articles de F. W. Carey (*v. infra*).

(1) Müöng La, lat. 21° 60', long. 101° 33' 10" (Carte Davies).

(2) Cf. P. Lefèvre-Pontalis, L'invasion thaïe en Indo-Chine, *T'oung-pao*, mars 1897, p. 66; H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan, the Link between India and the Yangtze*, Cambridge, University Press, 1909, p. 381. Ce dernier ouvrage est fondamental pour l'étude des T'ay de l'ouest du Yün-nan. Nous y renvoyons le lecteur une fois pour toutes, notamment au Chap. *Shan or Tai*, p. 371-384.

(3) D'où les titres d'ouvrages généraux suivants: A. Terrien de Lacouperie, *The Cradle of the Shan race*, in "A. R. Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans*.....", London, Field & Trier, 1885" et tirage à part, s.d. [1885]; Rev. W. W. Cochrane, *The Shans*, Rangoon, Govt. Prt., 1915, vol. I seul paru.

(4) Cf. W. W. Cochrane, *op. cit.*; W. R. Hillier, Notes on the Manners . . . of the Tribes inhabiting the Shan States, *Indian Antiquary*, XXI, 1892, p. 116 sqq.

(5) Cf. [L. F. Taylor], *Linguistic Survey of Burma. Preparatory Stage or Linguistic Census*, Rangoon, Office of the Superintendent, Govt. Prt., 1917. Une erreur de terminologie s'y est glissée en cours d'impression. Les Yun sont bien des T'ay, les Law de Chiang Mai (Siam) ou *Law pum dam* (Laotiens ventre noir) et non des Annamites. *Yuön, yun* (du pâli *Yonaka*, étranger) est un terme ethnologique à répudier, en raison de ses emplois multiples.

(6) Nous faisons allusion ici à [Francis Garnier], *Voyage d'exploration en Indo-Chine* 2 vol. and atlas, Paris, *d'exploration en Indo-Chine*, 2 vol. atlas, Paris, Hachette, 1873, qui appelle Laotiens les Lü et les Shans.

(7) J. Rispaud, Quelques notes préliminaires sur les T'ay Lü (Sud-ouest du Yün-nan et Haut-Laos) [avec un essai de bibliographie], à paraître in *Journal Asiatique* ou *T'oung-pao*. Aussi, The Lü . . . et E. Seidenfaden, Supplementary Note, *The Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. XIX, part 3, 1925, p. 159-209.

(8) Sur leurs émigrations, voy. Mission Pavie, Géographie et voyages, t. VII, Paris, E. Leroux, 1919, p. 295 sqq.; P. Le Boulanger, *Histoire du Laos français* . . . , Paris, Plon, 1930, p. 176; L. de Reinach, *Le Laos*, 1ère édition, Paris, A. Charles, s.d. [1901], t. II, p. 63; E. Seidenfaden, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

(9) La physionomie générale et la place de cette histoire dans l'histoire des principautés t'ay s'entrevoient in "P. Lefèvre-Pontalis, L'invasion thaïe en Indo-Chine, *T'oung-pao*, mars 1897, p. 53-78 et oct. 1909, p. 495-512; La lutte des Thaïs contre les Birmans au XVIème siècle, *Revue indo-chinoise*, t. XXII, juil.-déc. 1914, p. 1-24 et 173-195" et les autres articles historiques du même auteur. Lire aussi quelques renseignements de cette nature sur le Ch'è-li in *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. VIII, p. 151/2. (G. Soulié et Tchang Yi-tch'ou, Les Barbares soumis au Yun-nan. Chap. du Tien hi 滇繫).

(10) Rev. W. C. Dodd, Some Notes on a Missionary Tour . . . among the Tai Race, *The Chinese Recorder*, déc. 1910, p. 738.

(11) P. Lefèvre-Pontalis, L'invasion thaïe . . . , p. 65-66; L. de Reinach, *op. cit.*, t. II, p. 31.

(12) Consulter F. W. Carey, A trip to the Chinese Shan States, *The Geographical Journal*, London, vol. XIV, 1899, part 2, p. 378-394; Sketch Map . . . , *ibid.*, p. 472; Journeys in the Chinese Shan States, *ibid.*, vol. XV, 1900, part I, p. 486-517. Aussi, du même auteur, *China. Imperial Maritime Customs—V. Office Series—Customs Papers nos 60, 64 & 65*, Shanghai, Statistical Dept. of the Inspectorate of Customs, 1899; P. Bons d'Anty, *Excursions dans le Pays Chan chinois* . . . (Série d'orient n° 3), Shanghai, Impr. Presse orientale, 1900; Dr. L. Gaide, Notice ethnographique . . . précédée de renseignements généraux . . . sur la région des Sip-song Pan-na, *Revue indo-chinoise*, 1905, p. 471 et *passim*; du même auteur, Rapports mss. dans les archives de l'E.F.E.O. à Hanoi (Cf. *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. II, p. 177/8); [W. C. MacLeod and Dr. Richardson], *Copy of Papers relating the Route of Captain W. C. McLeod from Moulemein to the Frontiers of China*, etc. . . . Papers relating to China, t. XV, London, India Office, 1869; Mission Pavie, Géographie et voyages, Paris, Leroux, notamment t. II, 1906; t. V. 1902; t. VII, 1919; Dr. W. C. Dodd, *The Tai Race*, Iowa (U.S.A.), Torch Press Cedar Rapids, 1923; etc. . . .

(13) Un dicton rapporte qu'il existe 3 capitales de royaume (sam hu ka sat): Xěng Tung, Xěng Hung et Mông Rēm.

(14) [Fr. Garnier], *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 407.

M=Müōng, laotien ou lü écrit, Mông, lü parlé et shan. Unité politico-géographique élémentaire dont la traduction la moins infidèle est seigneurie. Un Müōng se compose d'un bourg et de plusieurs villages (Ban) ou d'un seul bourg.

X=Syěng, laotien, Xěng, lü et Kěng, shan. Chef-lieu. Etymologiquement "Premier". S'entend soit en importance, soit en ancienneté (Cf. *Ban xěng*, village-souche d'un Müōng).

(15) Les différentes cartes que nous avons consultées ne s'accordent pas sur la position géographique de M. Ham (Kalampa 橄欖壩). Les unes, parmi lesquelles celle de H. R. Davies, situent cette localité sur la rive droite du Mékong; les autres, notamment les croquis de F. W. Carey, sur la rive gauche. Dans l'impossibilité actuelle de résoudre ce problème, nous l'avons placée, sans prendre aucunement parti, sur la rive droite. Il est d'ailleurs très probable que, comme X. Hung, elle a occupé divers emplacements.

(16) Fac-similés in *T'oung-pao*, III, 1892, pl. V et G. Devéria, *La frontière sino-annamite*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1886, p. 105. Cf. F. Hirth, *The Chinese Oriental College*, *J.N.-C.B.R.A.S.*, XXII, 1887, pp. 203, sqq.; F. W. K. Müller, *Vocabularien der Pa-yi und Pah-poh-Sprachen*, *T'oung-pao*, III, p. 1, sqq.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The George Eumorfopoulos Collection. Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery, and Miscellaneous Objects. By W. Perceval Yetts. Volume III., **BUDDHIST SCULPTURE**. London. Ernest Benn.

These impressive volumes appear regularly. Considering the amount of work that their preparation demanded, this is no mean accomplishment. The new volume marks a definite advance in the study of Buddhist sculpture, especially that in China. It is the fullest and most comprehensive survey of the subject ever published. The objects here dealt with are less than fifty, and each is illustrated with judicious care. There are seventy-five plates, a third of which are reproduced in colours, and they show the discriminating care of the collector. The bibliography of European and Oriental sources is comprehensive and a fine contribution to the study of Chinese art. The author must have read widely in preparing the volume, and the results are enshrined in a long Introduction of great importance. It would be difficult to overestimate its value.

The author has codified much of the information found in English and other languages on the subject and scattered over a wide field. This in itself was no light task. He has brought this to bear on his discussions of the many points that are suggested. And he has done more. He has faced the task of the study of Indian iconography. This is essential to a logical study of the subject. Without some familiarity with the Indian, it is not easy to understand Chinese Buddhist iconography. Dr. Yetts has been the first to undertake this. He has rendered signal service to all students of Eastern art by the lucidity with which he has codified the vast body of scattered material, and brought into one conspectus the details distributed so widely.

There were many subjects needing elucidation. The question of origins and contact of India with Hellenistic art; the early contact of Buddhism with China; the beginnings of iconography in China, before the advent of Buddhism; and the significance of the early sculpture. Light has been thrown on all these problems.

The remains of ancient sculpture, so far as is at present known, are meagre. The pieces in this volume, though they are not many, are important. There are no vestiges before the Northern Wei, say about A.D. 450. This may to some appear surprising. The first centuries of the Christian era were not,

however, propitious for the development of art as they were disturbed and possibly many creations that existed were destroyed. It may be that the Indian feeling against images of Buddha was still pervasive; or that owing, perhaps, to other reasons no vestiges are found in China of Buddhist iconography until the times of the Northern Wei. "The art of Buddhist sculpture in China," says the author, "achieved its most characteristic expression within Wei territory." He holds that the Wei conquerors did not initiate any new style of their own but eagerly accepted what already existed, in the desire for sinicisation. The conquerors became the conquered. This period is an interesting time and will repay further investigation. An old Chinese writing states that the images of Buddha were all carved by distinguished workers of the times of the Northern Wei and Ch'i. Of the three great Buddhas in Honan, one authority says that T'ai, the king of Wei, had them carved for the Empress Dowager. Another authority says that Ching Ming of Wei ordered the eunuch Pei Chêng to carve two of them and another eunuch another. What part the eunuchs just had in the work we are not told, but, it is said, that in the carving of one statue, of the height of one hundred feet, there were about one hundred thousand men employed. This amazing figure may be oriental exaggeration; but evidently a great number of people were employed. Unfortunately no mention is made of how many artists there were or whether the eunuch mentioned was an artist himself and did the actual artistic work. No light is thrown on this point in the old history.

The deciphering and classification of Buddhist sculpture in China is surrounded with many difficulties. For one thing, the object may be distributed over more than one Museum. It got broken in the exhumation through carelessness. Ignorance was disastrous. Again the weathering of the stone in many instances made the iconograph indistinct, so that the work of deciphering must have been laborious. But Dr. Yetts has got some excellent results. One in particular should be mentioned, that of the grey stone lunette (No. C. 45 to 50), here ascribed to the thirteenth century or after. The photographs of it failed to give an adequate idea of the detail, owing to the darkness of the stone and the ravages of time; so the author has supplemented them with an accurate copy, based on an inked squeeze, representing arduous work.

Dr. Yetts has diagnosed all the specimens presented and given a date to each, and his discussions as to provenance and history of each piece is masterly. It could not have been an easy matter to assign dates and other particulars; one wonders how far medical training and practice helped him. This is a nice point.

There are, of course, many pieces in good preservation.

Withdrawn from the chance of vandalism, in the recesses of deep mountains, away from the depredations of the curious and the ravages of war, sheltered from the weather in caves or niches hewn out of surrounding rocks, there are many splendid relics remaining of Buddhist sculpture. Such are the great figures in T'ien-Lung Shan, Lung Mên and so on. These are majestic in their grandeur and simplicity. There are others decorated by devotees; but they have not improved the object of their devotion!

The author discusses many intricate matters in the course of his investigation. One relates to C. 88 and 89, where the head is severed from a colossal figure of a Buddha in cast-iron. The piece calls for remarks on several points of iconographic moment. "The unnaturally lengthened lobes of the ears," for example, common in Buddhist imagery, were not included among the physical characteristics. "Many of the early Indian sculptures clearly show that these lengthened lobes are due to artificial means—distortion brought about by heavy ear-rings." In China the elongation was copied apparently without understanding the true cause. In the course of time, the long ears came to imply a "most illustrious man." So a fat face and long pendant ear-lobes are to this day the sign of the "coming man."

And this tendency to indicate the "illustrious man" by means of certain physical marks is most striking in the bump on the top of the Buddha's cranium. "In the form most plentifully represented it has, in common with the scalp, a covering of numerous peppercorn or snail-like curls." This came into vogue about the middle of the second century A.D. Through the Tarim region it spread to the Far East. What this bump really is has been the subject of wide and prolonged discussion. Various views have been expressed. "The fact that the inscription on the Katra figure designates it a Bodhisattva, is one of the proofs that, at first, the Mathurâ sculptors did not discriminate between the phases of Sâkyamuni's spiritual development. Was the "elevation" composed solely of hair? Some suggest that the bump, whatever it is, was made in order to avoid giving the shaven head of the ordinary monk to the Buddha. But this complicated problem of the *usnisa* is difficult of solution. The author has passed in rapid review some of the chief elements in suggested solutions.

The prohibition of the representation of the Buddha image is another interesting topic that springs from the investigation. A prohibition may be inferred once to have existed, from a passage in the Sarvâstivâdin Vinaya. We may presume that the prohibition came with the growth of an idea. It was a matter of development, and a point was reached when the Buddha was dehumanised. The more the spiritual and not the physical idea of the Buddha prevailed, the more necessary it became to prevent

the anthropomorphic image. This, I presume, is the cause for the absence of Sakyamuni's image from the Pootoo temple. The priest, in response to a question of where the image of Sakyamuni was, showed a very small figure amongst a lot of others and said that the human figure as an object of worship and adoration is not allowed. He is a purely spiritual element and so represented in the P'u Sas. The spiritual Buddha is ever pervasive through human personalities. Possible Buddhas are always born to pass through the Bodhisattva stage on to the Budhahood. How long the actual prohibition of the image was operative in India, is uncertain. It is an interesting phase of the Buddha problem, and it may be possible, in the future, to have still more information on the matter.

The *Introduction*, pp. 1-38, comprises about 28,000 words,—a book in itself. It is an essay on the earliest centuries of Buddhism in China—till about the beginning of the T'ang dynasty, and it deals specially with the progress of style and iconographic practice of the sculpture. Several experts have declared it to be the best essay of the kind in any language. Attempts are made to correlate the motives with Buddhist scriptures which inspired them. A special feature is an explanation of a very favourite motive among the earlier sculptures, viz., the visit of Mañjusri to Vimalakirti, inspired by the *Vimalakirti-nirdeśa sūtra*. An outline of the narrative is given. This motive has hardly been recognised by previous writers.

The passage of Buddhist images and tradition via the South is evidenced as a correction to the popular notion that early Buddhist importations came to China exclusively via the Tarim Basin.

The seven images brought back from India by Hsüan-tsang are explained in detail and, also, the legend of the famous Udayana image.

There is a full Index to the text and a splendid Bibliography containing 255 items. This, in itself, is most valuable and will be a great help to students. There is also a list of Chinese and Japanese writings (in Chinese).

This is a very complete and valuable work. One need be, no longer, only a gazer at the bronzes and sculpture that one meets with, but, with this as guide, one may leave the inspection of an object not only with the satisfaction of having looked at it but with ability to surround it with some of its history and provenance and thus gain something of the inner meaning of the history of the Buddha.

Messrs. Ernest Benn deserve our congratulations, on their part, on the publication of this superb catalogue.

E. Morgan

La Chine et la formation de l'Esprit philosophique en France (1640-1740), par Virgile Pinot, [P. Geuthner, Paris, 1932], in-8, 480 pages.

Monsieur V. Pinot a consacré sa thèse de doctorat à une des questions les plus mal connues à savoir ce qu'on savait exactement de la Chine en France à la fin du XVII^e siècle et dans la première moitié du XVIII^e et si ce qu'on en savait pouvait permettre d'avoir une idée véritablement exacte de l'Extrême-Orient. C'est ce qu'on pourrait appeler une question d'actualité rétrospective car la même question se pose aujourd'hui dans les mêmes termes et si on l'étudiait sérieusement on aboutirait vraisemblablement aux mêmes conclusions que Mr. Pinot. Beau sujet de thèse, dans quelque deux cents ans, pour un étudiant en Sorbonne; en attendant beau sujet de réflexion.

Mr. Pinot traite d'abord des sources de la connaissance de la Chine et il en distingue deux dont le cours diverge dès l'origine: les Jésuites et les missionnaires. La querelle des cérémonies chinoises est à ce sujet fort instructive et montre comment les Jésuites ont été amenés à présenter au monde européen une Chine spiritualiste, une Chine déiste et un Confucius. Sinon chrétien sans le savoir au moins inspiré par une sorte de prescience chrétienne. Les attaques des missionnaires contre les Jésuites, d'autre part, leur dénonciation véhémement de l'athéisme chinois et des superstitions chinoises ont fourni aux "libertins" tout un arsenal d'armes contre la religion, sans compter que parmi les Jésuites eux-mêmes ceux qu'on appelait les "figuristes" (nous dirions aujourd'hui symbolistes) apportaient à leur tour des arguments nouveaux aux sceptiques.

Le "Confucius" du P. Couplet, les "Lettres édifiantes et curieuses" éditées, revues, remaniées et corrigées par le P. du Halde; la "Description de la Chine" du R. P. du Halde ont constitué les premiers documents mis à la disposition du public cultivé du début du XVIII^e siècle. En dehors de ces ouvrages conçus pour instruire mais aussi pour plaire, les savants Jésuites de Chine entretenaient une correspondance suivie avec les savants de France et d'Europe: le P. Bouvet avec Leibnitz, le P. de Prémare avec Fourmont et Freret, le P. Parrenin avec Dortous de Mairon, le P. Gaubil avec l'astronome de l'Isle et avec Freret.

Trois grandes questions furent l'objet de discussions de mémoires et d'études nombreuses. D'abord la question de la chronologie chinoise et de la façon de concilier sa haute antiquité avec les données de la Bible et la date du Déluge universel: question comme on le voit fort grave, sur laquelle, d'ailleurs, la division régnait dans tous les camps. Les uns reculent les origines du monde; les autres gagnent quelques siècles en utilisant la version des Septante plutôt que la vulgate, d'autres affirment

l'éternité du monde et forment une Secte "préadamite." En définitive, vers 1740 on est plus porté à douter du Déluge universel que de l'antiquité de la chronologie chinoise.

La seconde question était celle de la philosophie et de la religion des chinois. Ici c'est la preuve de la vérité du christianisme par le consentement universel qui est en jeu et c'est aussi, si on admet le spiritualisme chinois le danger d'admettre une religion naturelle sans révélation et de rendre inutiles à la fois Moïse et Jésus-Christ. Les arguments maladroits des uns, la passion irraisonnée des autres, les discussions des Bayle, des Elie Benoist, des Malebranche, des Jansénistes, de Leibnitz et de Freret ruinent en tous cas l'argument du consentement universel et amènent la plupart à penser que les chinois sont athées.

La troisième question est celle de la morale et de la politique des chinois, et en particulier celle de l'indépendance de la vertu morale et de la religion. Question connexe: celle des rapports entre la morale et la politique, étroitement liées, semble-t-il en Chine.

La Chine a donc présenté au début du XVIII^e siècle un intérêt commercial avec la compagnie des Indes, un intérêt apologétique, un intérêt de curiosité pour la public desoeuvré, un intérêt politique dans la lutte contre la prépondérance Portugaise en Extrême-Orient et en faveur du gallicanisme, un intérêt philosophique qui fut un ferment nouveau dans les discussions entre Sceptiques et religieux, un intérêt moral pour les "honnêtes gens" qui cherchaient en dehors de toute préoccupation théologique des principes clairs et simples pour leur conduite personnelle. Les querelles des missionnaires ont renforcé les arguments de Bayle et si Voltaire se fera quelques années plus tard l'allié des Jésuites, s'il leur empruntera leurs arguments sur le spiritualisme des chinois, son déisme sentira le fagot et sa morale laïcisée et indépendante de toute religion révélée, sera d'une influence pire encore au point de vue des religieux.

Le livre de Mr. Pinot, très vivant, d'une documentation très complète et classée avec cette méthode si sûre de G. Lanson à qui l'ouvrage est dédié est une excellente contribution à l'histoire des idées.

Ch. Grosbois

Documents inédits relatifs à la connaissance de la Chine en France de 1685 à 1740, par Virgile Pinot, [P. Geuthner, Paris, 1932], in-8, 130 pages.

Ce recueil complète l'ouvrage du même auteur "La Chine et la formation de l'Esprit philosophique en France de 1640 à 1740."

Il comprend quelques lettres du P. Foucquet à Fourmont et à l'abbé de Rothelin et à l'abbé Bignon. Ce P. Foucquet était évêque d'Eleutheropolis et l'un de ceux que le P. du Halde craignait le plus et auquel il fit le plus de concessions—inutilement d'ailleurs—sur la question de l'interprétation symboliste des livres chinois.

Le reste du recueil est consacré à des lettres de Fréret sur les questions d'astronomie, de chronologie, de géographie et de philosophie chinoises, qui montrent assez un des aspects du merveilleux essort scientifique de notre XVIII^e siècle.

Ch. G.

The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language, an Introduction to the Spoken Language (Northern Pekingese Dialect). By Jos. Mullie. Translated from the Flemish by A. Omer Versichel. Peiping, The Bureau of Engraving and Printing, 1932 [The French Book Store, Peiping]. Vol. I, pp. XXXIII: 566.

Students of the Chinese colloquial will view with dubious feelings the announcement of another manual, especially in English. The present work is justified, however, on at least two excellent grounds. Firstly it deals with a form of "Pekingese," viz., the mandarin of Jehol 熱河 which offers marked phonetic variations from the better-known dialect of the former capital. Thus it supplements the works of Father Wieger,—encompassing the dialect of Ho-chien-fu 河間府, and of innumerable others who, since Wade produced his *Tzū-erh-chi*, have assumed to provide an easy road to a speaking knowledge of the official language. Secondly, the compiler approaches his task with a clear conception of the principles of Chinese phonology and exposes the broad preparation of the field by others before him. The Preface and Introduction are especially valuable. Frankly conceding the limited area in which what he calls "Northern Pekingese" is current, he is reminded that the same objection can be made against any book dealing with a regional dialect. In this respect it represents one of the intensive and authentic studies of a particular dialect the lack of which Professor Karlgren has deplored and for which even his own studies in Chinese phonology cannot yet be considered as definitive. "The immeasurable field of the Chinese dialects is still unexplored," the writer states, and he proceeds to note the commonest phonetical variations in such closely allied dialects as the "Northern" and "Southern Pekingese." The arid researches of earlier philologists made no contribution to an explanation of these changes; it has remained particularly for B. Karlgren and H. Maspero to ascertain the historical

principles governing the variability of sounds in the spoken Chinese from the sixth century A.D., such researches being based upon the rhyming dictionaries. These are especially the *Kuang-yün* 廣韻, fragments of the *T'ang-yün* 唐韻 and the *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻 of the sixth and seventh centuries. The sketch of the phonetic development of the Chinese language, and the various stages of progress in the evolution of the Chinese character, concluding with general observations on the characteristics of the Chinese language, provides the Occidental beginner, adult as he usually is, with a very useful conspectus of the unique monosyllabic language (in the broad sense) the study of which he may be approaching for the first time. This introductory section is enriched with valuable bibliographical lists both in Chinese and western languages.

The body of the work is arranged to provide the student with a sufficiently analytical approach to the language through a progressive examination of its phonetic representation, the radicals as the essential feature of character structure, followed by chapters devoted successively to a general outline of the grammar of Chinese and the use of nouns, adjectives, numerals and pronouns. The text is profusely elucidated with examples, each illustrative phrase or sentence being rendered in Chinese characters with romanization after the English system as well as a special phonetical romanization advocated by the author himself. The original work appeared in Flemish (*Collection Internationale de Monographies Linguistiques—ANTHROPOS*) for the use of Flemish and Dutch missionaries working in the province of Jehol. Its usefulness to beginners generally is thus limited; to those who have already firmly mastered a mandarin dialect, the work may be commended, however, as a further scientifically arranged handbook for reference and study.

E. M. Gale

Western Travellers to China. By Frances Markley Roberts. Shanghai, Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1932. Pp. iii: 178.

Within brief space, Mrs. Roberts reviews in a lively narrative a compendium of unsurpassed human effort and interest. This centuries-long story of the attempts to satisfy curiosity as to what really lay within the confines of the mysterious Chinese empire begins with the chronicles and narratives of Arab travellers and Christian friars of the T'ang and Mongol periods, a briefer era following before the conclusion of the treaties of the 1840s, and carrying down in more voluminous variety of exploit, aim and personnel to the present moment.

For the earliest period Mrs. Roberts borrows largely from the standard source, Col. Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, and

the consummation of his researches, the scholarly edition of the Venetian traveller's account. Part I thus possesses the merit of placing again in condensed form what Soothill, Komroff and others have already done, a process of justifiable "vulgarization" of material which otherwise might remain buried in Hakluyt's volumes. From the vague Alopen of the Nestorian monument, then Plano Carpini, and Rubruk (*vir gravis et corpulentus*, first observant recorder of Chinese characteristics), lusty friars who traversed Asia to visit the superstition-ridden court of the earlier Mongol Khans at Karakorum, to the sainted first Bishop of Peking John of Montecorvino, Andrew of Perugia, Bishop of Zayton, Odoric of Pordenone (beatified by the Church in 1755) and John of Marignolli, after whose ecclesiastical narrative Christianity fades out concurrently with the retreat of the Mongols—glimpses of the great and mighty empire are given to supplement the accounts of the Arab annalists and of the unmatched Marco Polo himself.

The second period (Part II) is one of Jesuit penetration and ingratiation, when the science and learning of Europe captivated the cultured minds of Manchu monarchs. Abeel and Gutzlaff appear as dour determined Protestant proselyters in comparison. The long series of embassies whereby Russia and China ultimately established reluctant relations along their vast coterminous frontiers are briefly described, the period culminating in the abortive English mission of Lord Macartney and the even more humiliating experiences of Amherst. Each of these approaches, whether the religio-scientific relations of the Jesuits, the frankly evangelical endeavours of the Protestant missionaries or the determined official legations, left their records of observation so that "no better illustration could be cited, than these accounts, to show the important part which travellers' accounts have had in educating Western nations to a knowledge and understanding of China" (p. 60).

Almost two thirds of the book (Part III) are devoted to the accounts of travellers who came to China after the opening of the treaty ports. From Abbé Huc to Joseph Rock the record of innumerable travellers who have visited China for the study of its "art, paleontology, ethnology, politics, finance and sociology" almost justifies the assertion "that the traveller is the one to whom most people turn for knowledge of the country." Assuredly Mrs. Roberts' effort, originally forming a dissertation which provided her with the added distinction of being the first Occidental woman student to receive the degree of M.A. from St. John's University, Shanghai, should serve to stimulate a lively popular interest in the original texts of Western travellers to China. A bibliography, limited to books and articles actually used, adds to the usefulness

of the work. Rockhill's notable translation of the travel narrative of William of Rubruk fails to be mentioned (cf. p. 18), while evidently the important travels of Owen Lattimore were too recent for notice in the text. The first syllable of Tun Huang is spelled throughout with a superfluous g, e.g., p. 148. "The Ming rehabilitations [of the Great Wall] raised against the Kin Tartars" is an anachronism (p. 85); "two" hundred years should be "one" (p. 110).

E. M. G.

Anglo-Chinese Glossary of Modern Terms for Customs and Commercial Use (with Explanatory Notes and Chinese Index). By C. A. S. Williams, Third Edition Revised. Peiping. Customs College Press. 1933.—Foreward. 288 pp. Appendices A, B, C. Chinese Index.

With the constant enlargement of the range of the Chinese written medium due to the entrance of the terminology of Occidental thought, glossaries and dictionaries become inadequate before the ink of the letter press is dry. While this difficulty is not absent from similar compilations in other languages, it is especially true of the language of a nation whose entire cultural and societal practice is altering with startling rapidity. Thus we see the preparation of such useful word and phrase books as Dr. Evan Morgan's *New Terms Revised and Enlarged* to which is now added a new edition of Mr. Williams' glossary, compiled for the convenience primarily of the foreign student.

This handbook of 4810 words and phrases has, as the compiler states in his *Foreword*, grown out of a collection made for his own practical use and first published in 1908 for the various Custom Houses of China. A second and more comprehensive edition was issued in 1914. The many terms appearing since then with the introduction of new methods in official and business procedure in China have provided Mr. Williams with an incentive greatly to enlarge and enrich his glossary. The work, while frankly designed originally as an aid to Customs employees, has outgrown these limitations, and now provides vocabularies for those engaged in banking, postal, shipping, mercantile, and educational affairs.

The arrangement makes no pretense of systematising words and phrases, other than by their casual alphabetical order. The English is followed by the Chinese, with the romanization, according to the practical if unscientific Wade system, in the third of the three columns. Footnotes appear frequently in explanation of little known commodities, geographical terms and the like. Three appendices enumerate the names of the railways of China and the

distribution of the Customs organization. An index of Chinese characters (arranged according to the Roman alphabet) adds to the usefulness of a handbook which may be commended to the Occidental official, business man and student as a useful contribution to the existing facilities for the study of current Chinese terminology.

E. M. G.

The Temples of Anking and Their Cults. A Study of Modern Chinese Religion. By John Knight Shryock. Foreword by Karl Ludvig Reichelt. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1931. 36 plates; 206 pp.

In this interesting book the author has, with infinite pains, collected an immense amount of useful information, culled partly from the local Encyclopaedia, presented to him by the Editor, Mr. Hsü, and partly from first-hand, careful personal observation of the 123 temples situated in the "sleepy, conservative" capital of Anhui, which suffered so severely, in 1854, at the hands of Taiping rebels.

Starting with the statement that Chinese religion is polytheistic and that their many deities have birthdays and are human beings on whom, from time to time, degrees are conferred by Emperors and officials, in recognition of valour, patriotism or supposed answer to prayer, the writer points out that the essentials of worship,—viz., prayer, kowtow, incense-burning and candles are the same whether offered to Shang Ti (上帝) the only god recognized as supernatural, or others, and that on great public occasions, these four essentials are accompanied, in most cases, by chanting, fire-crackers and processions, the 5 sacred vessels in front of the object of adoration, whether image or tablet, being always present. He then catalogues the various forms of offerings made by the worshippers, the sources of temple-upkeep, and describes the non-religious theatrical performances given in the environs of four of the temples of Anking. These 123 temples he classifies under six heads, as follows: *Ancestral Worship, Heroes and other Famous Persons, State Temples, Buddhist, Taoist, and those of Individual Cults.*

1. As to the first, distinction is drawn between the *Ta Chi* or Great Sacrifice, held before day-break, on the *Tung Chih*, or Winter Solstice, when every member of the family or clan is expected to be present, and the *Hsiao Chi*, or Small Sacrifice, frequently offered.

2. Temples of the second class are dedicated to Great Men—not, as a rule, outstanding thinkers and writers such as those whose names figure in Western Cathedrals, but heroes such as Duke Han of the Yuen Dynasty, whose bones were buried outside the

Big South Gate of the city, and who, according to the poet Lu Choh: "Lost his life for his country in a last great act of fidelity."

3. *State Temples* the author classes under two heads, representing Peace and War, or Civil and Military, viz., Wên Miao and Wu Miao. These are visited in Spring and Autumn, by high officials. They contain tablets, but no images. In connection with the Wên Miao, Mr. Shryock devotes ten pages to the reverence of Confucius, "the divinest of men," whose temple of red walls has a depth of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile, whose pillars are inscribed with the "virtues" and "way" of the Great Sage, and in whose honour the "Dance of the Eight Ranks" (64 men and boys) is performed to the music of flutes. Representing the second class of State Temples, the great Kuan Yo Miao was destroyed by the rebels, but has since been restored. Its courtyards are now used for classes of physical culture and basketball; but twice a year they are ablaze with flickering candles and merry with choristers and dancers.

4. Of *Buddhist Temples*, the writer mentions altogether 25 occupied by monks and 20 by nuns; but only two out of the 45 are of any size. The chief one,—the Yin Chiang Tsi, contains 80 monks of the Meditative Order. These make a living out of masses for the dead, earning, in the case of a wealthy family, from \$500 to \$600, per mass! In the grounds of this famous temple stands the handsome pagoda which, having outlived the Taiping Rebellion, still stands on the N. bank of the Yangtze. The author's description of the Yu Lan Huei, held at night, in the temple grounds, amidst flowers and trees, with the river, "over a mile wide, shining pale blue in the dazzling moonlight," is a master-piece of word-painting and well worth careful perusal, though as an indication of spiritual worship, the ceremony may have but little value.

5. *Taoist Temples* are then explained, with their five elements of worship and their masses for the dead.

6. Finally comes a chapter on *Individual Cults*, such as worship of the City god, the Dragon King, the Fire god, the deities of Medicine, Wealth and Earth.

And to complete matters is a very useful Appendix and Index.

The book is well printed on good paper. It contains some errors in punctuation (a modern blemish!) and several misspellings, such as "waht" (p. 10), "Tree" (p. 132), "especialy" (p. 82), "enormously" (p. 13), and so on; but these are trifles which can be corrected in a second edition, and which cannot and do not detract from the informative excellence and value of the book, which is enhanced by from 30 to 40 illustrations, some beautiful, others inevitably grotesque!

M. L. Morgan

Jehol, City of Emperors. Sven Hedin. Translated by E. G. Nash. Kegan Paul, London, 1932. Pp. 278. Price 18/—.

This very attractive book is written in a popular manner and probably has well met a demand created since its appearance by the stirring events that have occurred in the locality described. The author visited Jehol in 1930, in connection with the replicas of the Golden Pavilion in the Potala which Mr. Bendix agreed to present to Chicago and Stockholm, and he here describes the nine great Buddhist temples and gives some account of their origin.

A fascinating but depressing picture is given of the decay into which are falling these temples, founded by K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung. Unless the authorities take early action it is clear that a few years will see these buildings disappear. Unfortunately the same fate seems probable for many of the temples in China, except in a few favoured localities where there is a regular income. Sven Hedin has included some new Chinese texts relating to the history of Jehol and has conjoined to these extracts from fairly well known European works concerning the great Manchu emperors. There is also a most interesting account of the return to the East of the Torgot tribe of Mongols which was the occasion for the building of the Potala. This Potala is the third one, the prototype being in Lhasa and the second in Put'u, near Ningpo. All three differ. The Lhasa one is pure Tibetan, the Jehol one is Chinese with a Tibetan camouflage and the Put'u one is pure Chinese.

A few small points in the book are noteworthy. The frontispiece gives, in a pretty setting, a very unworthy view of the Potala. On pages 6, 7 and 9 the translator uses the word "sill" as a geological feature in a very unusual manner. On p. 69 the presence of numerous prehistoric stone implements is mentioned without sufficient detail. Such implements, *in situ*, are so rare in China that their existence here is of great interest. On p. 73 a "Yab-Yum" figure (possibly Yamantaka with his Sakti) is described in language which technically is quite incorrect. On p. 81 and 83 the Lohans (Arhats) are described as "disciples" of Buddha which is somewhat misleading unless one means by "disciples" simply devotees or saints. On p. 85 the "laughing Buddha," Ta Tu-tzū or Mi-lo Fo, is referred to as an unusual figure in a temple, whereas in fact he is to be seen in many Chinese Buddhist temples. The repeated use of the word "God" for a Buddhist image is also rather inappropriate although Miss Getty has established a precedent for this.

With the exception of Tara in the I-li Miao the iconography of these temples appears to be Chinese rather than Lamaist. It is of course well known that the temples of Jehol are of the Chinese type behind Tibetan screen walls, but it would seem from

this description that the equipment of the temples is also largely Chinese.

The Summer Palace is only cursorily described although General T'ang Yü-lin (so soon to be ousted!) gave the author facilities for seeing it.

The 62 plates are extremely good and the personal notes given concerning Ch'ien Lung are most illuminating as to the character of the presiding spirit of Jehol.

H. Chatley

Inscriptions of Yin Dynasty Divination Bones (殷契卜辭);
published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute, in three volumes,
1933, Mex. \$10.00.

In the first volume are reproduced rubbings of the inscriptions of 874 divination bones belonging to the Yenching University. These bones were formerly in the collection of Hsü Fang (徐坊) and were purchased by Professor Jung Kêng for the University through the Tê Pao Chai in May, 1929. The preface is in the handwriting of Professor Jung Kêng and was doubtless prepared by him. In it he reviews the work which had been done previously in this field by such scholars as Liu T'ieh-yün, Lo Chên-yü and Wang Kuo-wei.

The second volume contains translations of the inscriptions. It was prepared by Messrs. Jung Kêng and Ch'ü Jun-min whose work has been revised and annotated by Messrs. Shang Ch'êng-tso, T'ang Lan and Tung Tso-ping. In this volume not only the opinions of the two authors but also those of the annotators are recorded without any attempt to reconcile them when they conflict. For instance, on page 1, last line of the back of the page, Ch'ü Jun-min states that Shang Ch'êng-tso is wrong in his reading of the character 𠄎 as 旬, and later on page four, line 9, T'ang Lan asserts that Shang is not wrong. The divination inscriptions are read sometimes from right to left and sometimes from left to right. Vacant spaces are left in the explanatory sentences for characters which have not yet been identified. There are also inscriptions which are read from top to bottom in paragraphs such as No. 106.

Volume three is the work of Ch'ü Jun-min. In the first part the characters found in the inscriptions are arranged according to the order of the Shuo Wên, and at the back is a most useful index of the characters in the ordinary script.

This publication is a valuable addition to our knowledge of inscriptions on bones.

J. C. Ferguson

China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931. By Robert T. Pollard, Ph.D.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. Pp. 409.

This is an admirably impartial book, but it has the additional value of being more full than most books in its field of detailed information on the important developments in China's foreign relations arising out of her entry into the war. Like Philip Joseph's excellent book, *Foreign Diplomacy in China, 1894-1900*, which appeared in 1928, it brings with discriminating judgment into a single compass information which is essential for an understanding of China's place among the nations. When this comparison has been made no more need be said to recommend the book. In Mr. Joseph's book we witness China at the mercy of the Powers; in Mr. Pollard's we find the Powers chastened by war among themselves, and China gaining in self-assertion. The Manchurian episode is not entered upon, and quite wisely.

D. R.

A Sketch of Chinese Arts and Crafts. By Hilda Arthurs Strong.
Peiping: Published by Henry Vetch, The French Bookstore.
329 pp. M.\$5.

A Sketch of Chinese Arts and Crafts appears as a timely and abridged encyclopedia of the various achievements of Chinese art culture with an appropriate historic and religious background. A bibliography of forty-nine sources under a score and a half of famous names invites one to further study. While no subject is dealt with in great detail, there is a steady balance of authentic information treated simply and convincingly: a most useful little book both for those who wish to reach quickly a mine of information, and for practical investors needing a background for balanced judgement.

The charming little pen and ink sketches, preceding and illustrating each chapter, the reproductions of Dr. Ferguson's choice photographs, and the exquisite bits of Chinese poetry and proverb which decorate each title-page are all worthy of mention. From the history, religious background and treatment of symbolism reduced to their most concise, almost topical terms, one feels, in the chapter on Painting and Calligraphy particularly, that the art life of China is not merely a glorious past, but that in tucked-away corners, it may be, beautiful creative works are still being produced and true Chinese art is a still living, growing thing.

Perhaps the most original chapter of the whole book is Miss Strong's excellent description of the Palace Museum as it has stood in recent years. Her meticulous description of each fascinating corner in its orderly approach, will bring back unflinching the charm of a slow wandering in brilliant Peking

sunlight, through those crowded vistas of color and form. Her story of the old tea-pot among the jades once belonging to Su Tung-p'o, the ancient poet, is quite irresistible.

The chapters on porcelains, bronzes, lacquers of various sorts, and many types of jewelry are carefully written and while utilitarian, in their point of view, do not lose any sense of an ancient tradition. The discussion of silk and embroidery gives due credit to the imagination of these artisans in color when work was done, not in haste nor for a wage, but to produce beauty for the joy of its workmanship. Of carpets and linens as a new industry produced more or less for foreign trade, Miss Strong gives careful description not omitting the ancient traditions of Chinese art and design which have gone into their making nor the care with which various sorts of dye have been tried and re-tried. An excellent map occupies fly-leaf space and places one immediately at the sources of supply, as they are neatly marked into each appropriate province.

In her preface Miss Strong compares her "sketch" to the trifles of "tien hsin" served before a feast, "as a preliminary course intended to satisfy a temporary want only, its aim to present brief and simple explanations of the arts and crafts of China. Those who care to linger on, will find in the study of Chinese art a rich and rare feast spread before them in the many larger volumes from which much of the following information has been gathered," an aim in which she admirably succeeds.

E. M. Dunlap

Souvenirs of a Journey Through Tartary, Tibet and China During the Years 1844, 1845 & 1846. By E. Huc. 2 vols. Peking, Imprimerie des Lazaristes 1931. Procurable at The French Book Store, Peiping. M. \$12.

The travels of Abbé Huc in Tartary, Tibet and China have held the interest of the travel-reading public for more than three-quarters of a century, and a new edition is therefore of interest to many. It is fitting that this new edition should be published by Huc's Lazarist successors in the French Mission at Peking. The reason for the popularity of these travels has not changed with the passing years. Tibet is still the land of mystery, Lhasa a goal difficult of attainment. Travellers had gone into Tibet before Gabet and Huc. In 1661 the Jesuits Grueber and d'Orville went from Peking to India by way of Lhasa. Three-quarters of a century later the Hollander Van de Putte made the same journey in the opposite direction. Jesuits and Capuchins had penetrated Tibet from India, but when Huc made his journey these accounts had not been published. The journals of Bogle,

who visited the Teshu Lama in 1774 and of Manning, who saw the Dalai Lama in 1811-12, were not published until late in the nineteenth century. The West learned most of its first facts concerning Tibet from the account of Samuel Turner's Embassy to the Teshu Lama which appeared in 1800, 17 years after his trip. Recent years have witnessed Nicholas Roerich's *Altai-Himalaya*, which includes the diary of his year in Tibet, 1927-28. This mystical record contrasts strongly with the restrained and accurate account of Brigadier-General George Pereira, who in 1921 went to Lhasa from Peking, the first European since Huc and Gabet to reach Lhasa from China. Throughout this trip Pereira used a map upon which he had written the places and passes described by Huc. A few years ago the French mystic, Alexandra David Neel published an adventurous story of her journey to Lhasa, during which she wore the disguise of a pilgrim.

General Prjevalsky, the Russian explorer, went so far as to deny the very fact of Huc's and Gabet's journey to Lhasa. This theory cannot be seriously entertained. The internal evidence of the book is overwhelming and in addition we have the testimony of Prince Henry-Philip of Orleans, the first European to visit Lhasa after Huc and Gabet. He records a conversation with an old lama who told him of two "Mongol" lamas who visited Lhasa, were received into the lamasaries and finally discovered to be Europeans. Prince Henry reports the Tibetan lama as saying, "The high officials were afraid they might get into trouble and sent them away."

The real value of the *Souvenirs* is not that of an exact circumstantial account. Pelliot has said, "The lasting success of the *Souvenirs* is due above all to the literary gifts of their author. Huc had eyes to see and the power to recall to life what he had seen; but these very gifts have their counterpart in a somewhat ardent imagination which led him on occasion to invent what he supposed himself to be merely reporting; he had the artist's instinct, which with a few lively touches heightens the colors of reality, at times too drab." Florence Ayscough remarks that "Huc is instinct with life from cover to cover and the most comprehensive book on China which is easily read."

The account of the whole journey consists of two parts; the first stops at the point where the two travellers are brought back from Tibet to the frontiers of China. It is this section which is given in these volumes under consideration. A unique character of literature, fact or fancy, is the travelling companion, Samdadchiemba, ex-lama and Christian neophyte. Samdadchiemba of erratic and adventurous tastes is a perfect foil to Huc and Gabet. His experiences and conversations add persistent touches of humor. The conclusion of the journey from Szechuan to

Canton is foretold in Huc's postscript and has been published under the title *The Chinese Empire*.

The present edition of the *Souvenirs* claims originality in that it is edited, printed and published by the same missionary order to which the two travellers belonged. It is unfortunate that the editor has not given credit to the translator; the title page reads New Edition Annotated & Illustrated by J. M. Planchet, C. M. Upon comparison with an American edition of 1900 and with the Broadway Travellers Edition, 1928, the translation seems to be that of William Hazlitt, but no such acknowledgement is made. The chief advantage of this edition lies in the addition of Chinese characters to the Romanized proper names, and in the historical and geographical footnotes. At the end of each chapter are appendices which discuss special topics in some detail. There are numerous woodcuts and full page photographic reproductions contributed by missionaries living today in districts traversed by Huc and Gabet. There are photographs of the two Lazarists and facsimiles of letters written by them, which give a valuable touch of reality.

Two distractions which militate against easy reading of the text are the punctuations for direct quotations and the syllabication. The accepted principle in the hyphenation of English words is that the portion of the word left at the end of a line should suggest the part commencing the next line. For this reason the eye is offended by such divisions as follo-wed, wi-thout, avai-led, bet-ween. The editor's mistake can be accounted for by the French system of *épellation* by which French words are divided; a consonant is not separated from the following vowel; double consonants are divided. Undoubtedly the Lazarist Press has a style sheet which is followed in matters of typography. One question, however, their use of quotation marks in direct discourse and dialogue. Interpolated words and the remarks of two people have been included within the same quotation marks. Both of the errors mentioned are constant and annoying.

The two volumes are in paper covers and a slip case. The wide margins and good print make reading easy.

F. M. Roberts

History of Chinese Medicine. By K. Chimin Wong and Wu Lien-teh. The Tientsin Press, Ltd., Tientsin, China, 1932. Pp. xviii: 706.

The work is divided into two sections. Book One, with which this review is concerned, the work of Dr. Wong dealing with the earlier aspects of Chinese medicine, consists of 123 pages in which he has divided his material as follows:—

- I. The Ancient or Legendary Period, 2697-1122 B.C.
- II. The Historical or Golden Period, 1121 B.C. to A.D. 960.
- III. The Mediaeval or Controversial Period, A.D. 961-1800.

Book Two, the work of Dr. Wu, consists of Part IV, The Modern or Transitional Period, A.D. 1801-1932, and covers pages 124-706. The whole contains many indices, chronological tables, footnotes and references which should be useful to students in this field of Chinese study.

Part I is devoted to the beginnings of Chinese medicine in which the author briefly mentions some of the myths, customs, beliefs and superstitions and the primitive ideas regarding the causes and cures of diseases. Shên Nung, Huang Ti, Ch'i Pai, Lei Kung and other founders of Chinese medicine receive brief mention. In chapters three, four and five the author discusses the relationship between religion and medicine, the philosophy of disease, the influences of the mysterious *yin* and *yang* principles, the parts the five elements play in disease and health, and a selection of anecdotes concerning physicians, including Huan, Ho, Pien Ch'iao, and others.

In chapter six we have a brief summary of the *Nei Ching* in which the author discusses the age-old question of its authorship, its views on anatomy, physiology, pathology and therapy. Dr. Wong whets our appetite for knowledge concerning this basic work which should be completely translated if we are to have an understanding of the peculiar principles underlying the old system of Chinese medicine. In chapter seven we are brought to the Chou dynasty when they began to distinguish between physicians, surgeons, dietitians, veterinary surgeons and attached especial importance to dietetics. In this period we also have acupuncture, moxa and massage in Chinese therapy. Anatomical charts showing the proper points to insert the needle came later, to be followed by copper figures of the human body containing indications of these points for acupuncture. Here we also learn of the spread of these practices into Japan and European countries.

Chapter eight is devoted to an account concerning Ts'ang Kung (Ch'un-yü I), Chang Chung-ching and Hua T'o, the three great physicians of the Han period. Through his *Shang han lun* and *Chin kwei yao lu*, Chang Chung-ching has left the greatest impress upon Chinese medicine. The former work, generally referred to as an Essay on Typhoid, but in reality a treatise on many different kinds of diseases, has passed through many editions and has been commented upon more than any other medical work. Even as recent as last year General Ho Chien of Hunan Province reproduced his handwritten copy of what he claims to be the original text of Chang Chung-ching and presented copies to the Library of Congress and University of California. Here we have some interesting tales concerning Hua T'o, reputed to be the first Chinese surgeon to make

use of anaesthetics. There is a reproduction of a painting which depicts Hua T'o operating upon the war hero Kuan Kung for necrosis of the arm while the latter nonchalantly sits playing a game of chess.

Chapter nine deals with the pulse which the Chinese regard as so important in diagnosis and prognosis and of which Wang Shu-ho was the most noted expounder. Dr. Wong ends the chapter with a defence of this system of diagnosis which has been condemned as pure quackery by many foreign physicians.

In chapter ten we learn of the baleful influence of Taoist magic, exorcism and alchemy upon Chinese medicine. The belief in the attainment of immortality has become widespread. Paradoxically the list of Taoist physicians and writers who have helped make Chinese medical history is a long one. Among the most famous are Hua T'o, the surgeon, T'ao Hung-ching, author of the *Ming i pieh lu*, Ko Hung, author of the *Chou hou pei chi fang*, Sun Ssü-mou, author of the *Ch'ien chin fang*, and others. The Taoist canon contains K'ou Tsung-shih's medical work entitled *T'u ching chi chu yên i pên ts'ao*, and other works on dietetics. The author also gives an account of the contributions made by the Buddhists principally in the field of psychotherapy. However, they have left no writings comparable to those of the Taoist authors.

Chapter eleven is devoted to the cultural aspects of the Han and T'ang periods, when China contributed to the medical knowledge of Korea, Japan, Annam and Siam. Ch'un-yü Yen appears as the first woman practitioner. In the T'ang dynasty medicine is divided into the following seven branches: diseases of adults, children, eye and ear, mouth and teeth, cupping, massage and exorcism. Doctors are now differentiated as physicians, acupuncturists, masseurs and exorcists. It is the age of Lü Tung-pin, who was subsequently worshipped as a medicine god.

Chapters twelve, thirteen and fourteen are devoted to brief descriptions of a few of the important works of the ancient and historical periods and sketches of the leading physicians of the Sung dynasty. Dr. Wong's statement that the *Shên Nung pên ts'ao* is of very little scientific value seems radical when we consider the many valuable drugs contained in its pharmacopæia. One should not forget that *ma huang*, from which *Ephedrine* is derived, was first listed and described in this work. Coming to the Sung period we find a continuation of the trend toward specialization. The Sung emperors begin to patronize medical writers and as a result we have the *K'ai Pao pên ts'ao*, *Chia Yu pu chu pên ts'ao*, *T'u ching pên ts'ao*, and T'ang Shên-wei's great work, the *Chêng lei pên ts'ao*, in which the original text of the *Shên Nung pên ts'ao* is religiously retained and distinguished from the rest by being printed white on black ground. While no fault can be found with Dr. Wong's list of leading Sung physicians, one feels that in view of the works

they have left behind and the frequency with which they have been quoted, T'ang Shên-wei, Su Sung and K'ou Tsung-shih might have been admitted to this distinguished company.

In chapter fifteen we have an account concerning medical schools in the Sung period, the courses of study, textbooks used, examination of candidates, etc. We find the *Su wên*, *Nan ching*, *Shang han lun*, *Shên Nung pên ts'ao*, and *Ch'ien chin fang* used in the ten courses into which the study of medicine is divided. Women physicians are now officially recognized for the first time and allowed to practise after having passed the state examinations.

Chapter sixteen is devoted to an account concerning the lives and writings of Liu Shou-chên, Chang Tzû-ho, Li Tung-yüan and Chu Fan-ch'i, who are always referred to as the four famous physicians of the Chin and Yüan periods. All four were prolific writers who have left many works besides those enumerated. Dr. Wong tells us that this was an age of independent thinking, with controversies raging among the followers of these four men, and a noticeable tendency towards research. Chapter seventeen brings us to the Ming period with an analysis of the contents of Li Shih-chên's well known *Pên ts'ao kang mu*, which was first published in 1596, and not 1590 or 1595 as variously given by Dr. Wong. This chapter contains nothing not found in Bretschneider's summary of the contents of this work in *Botanicum Sinicum*, I: 54-69, 39-54.

Chapter eighteen deals with the five medical sects of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, their doctrinal differences, chief representatives, etc. These are grouped into the *Yang yin* or Nourish the *yin* Sect, *Wên pu* or Nourish the *yang* Sect, the Radicals who advocated the employment of drastic remedies, the Conservatives who aimed to restore the ancient medical writings, and the Moderates who were eclectics and favoured selecting what they thought good from all writers. This tendency to divide into sects becomes more pronounced in the Ch'ing period, with men like Yu Chia-yen and Ch'ên Hsiu-yüan advocating a return to the ancient classical schools of Huang Ti and Chang Chung-ching, while favouring the modern school we find Yeh T'ien-shih, Hsüeh Shêng-pai and others.

In chapter nineteen the author tells of the spread of Chinese medicine into Japan in the Ch'in and Sui dynasties and later on in the Chin and Yüan periods when many Chinese medical works were translated into Japanese. There is a lack of formal instruction such as existed up to the Ming period and a consequent decline in the profession of medicine. Chapter twenty treats of early obstetrics, gynecology, ophthalmology, parasitology, leprosy, beri-beri, cholera, small-pox, syphilis, castration, and medical jurisprudence. Chapter twenty-one is devoted to a list of important collections containing medical works and a classified list of works on general

medicine, materia medica, obstetrics and gynaecology, diseases of children, surgery and hygiene.

In their joint preface the authors appear to have anticipated some criticism due to the disproportion between the subject matter of the first and second parts of the work. Obviously the history of Chinese medicine from the time of Shên Nung and Huang Ti down to the year A.D. 1800 is too extensive to be recorded within the 123 pages allotted to Dr. Wong. Nevertheless all students of the older phases of Chinese medicine will be grateful to the author for the information he discloses in this background to the history of Chinese medicine.

The typography of the book is excellent and a credit to the Tientsin Press, Ltd.

M. J. Hagerty

SINOLOGICAL NOTES

No student of China's culture can assume to maintain touch with current scholarship without the aid of the *T'oung Pao* (通報), the traditionally brilliant editorship of which suffers no dimming of lustre with the present director, the versatile and profound Orientalist M. Paul Pelliot. The present number (Vol. XXIX), again issued from the famous polyglot press of late E. J. Brill, Leyden, possesses the usual valuable notes (*Mélanges*) on a variety of subjects by the Editor, and so lengthy an array of book reviews under *Bibliographie* and *Livres Reçus* as to indicate an extremely vigorous and productive period in Extreme-Oriental studies. Notwithstanding the vast range of subject-matter dealt with in the 221 different titles, M. P.'s. prodigious scholarship contributes, whether in a deft line or two or in several pages, either stimulating criticism or additional material of value. Among the contributed articles that of Professor J.J.L. Duyvendak, *Notes on Dubs' Translation of Hsün-tzu*, is of special interest and merit. It is to be regretted that despite the unheralded appearance of Dr. Dubs' translation of the later Chou philosopher (荀子), Professor Duyvendak did not proceed with the completion and publication of his own laborious rendering. There would have been, as is manifest in Professor D.'s. present critical notes, sufficient divergencies in the two translations to have justified the publication of both even in the same language, English. For on almost every one of 317 pages, Professor D. has taken issue with the published translation, as for example, to such a conspicuous extent as to alter (p. 279) "because you are as secretive as a fox," to "to think that a (yellow) fox is green"! However laudable Dr. Dubs' translation is as that of a non-sinologue and as a pioneering effort, a similar work by the eminent director of the Sinologisch Instituut at Leyden University would unquestionably have represented as sound a piece of scholarship as his admirable *The Book of Lord Shang*. The entrance of one of the younger American scholars, Dr. H. G. Creel, into the pages of *T'oung Pao* is noted in an article of some subjectivity, "Was Confucius Agnostic?" Professor Pelliot himself contributes also a valuable historical and philological discussion of the true name of the mother of the great Mongol khans, Mongka, Khubilai and Hülägü, "Seroctan," as given in Plano Carpini's text.

That ever rich vehicle of Sinology, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen* an der Friederich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin (Jahrgang XXXIV, Erste Abteilung: Ostasiatische Studien) contains as its principal contribution the first instalment of a comprehensive study, "Contributions to the Economic History of the T'ang era (618-906)." The investigator, Herr Stefan Balázs, has made full use of the wealth of contemporary Chinese source material for his study, particularly the "San T'ung" comprising the *T'ung Tien* of Tu Yu, Ma Tuan-lin's vast economic encyclopaedia, *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*, the *Tzū Chih T'ung Chien* of Ssü-ma Kuang and its later recension by Chu Hsi, *Tzū Chih T'ung Chien K'ang Mu*, as well as the dynastic histories. A complete list of primary and secondary sources utilized is given on pp. 6-9, forming a valuable bibliography for T'ang period studies. This study is a significant manifestation of the increasing interest scholars are displaying in the T'ang period, which in the opinion of the author is the third great epoch in the development of China and a point of departure for the study of Chinese economic history. Herr B. epitomizes this importance under the following achievements:

"Making the South accessible by means of the canals built by the Sui (589 to 617); the invention of book-printing and of porcelain; the definite formation of the examination system for officials; the secularization of the Buddhist Church; the steady growth and prosperity of foreign trade and the inclusion of Japan within the scope of Chinese culture; the rise of new literary forms, and the establishment of the first newspaper; the codification of the penal code; the establishment of a standing army; the introduction of a new taxation system and of the first paper money, etc.:—all these achievements, acquired within the 3 centuries of T'ang rule, entitle us to admit this dynasty to an exceptional position in Chinese history."

The published portion of Herr B's. researches thus far deals with such significant topics as population statistics of town and countryside, the drift from the land to the cities, irrigation and agricultural technique with lists of contemporary works on agriculture. The agrarian situation and system of taxation up to the middle of the 8th century, feudal holdings and great landholders, and the changes in the system of taxation introduced by the fiscal expert Yang Yen (楊炎), are all dealt with fully. The work comes as a valuable supplement to M. R. des Rotours' monograph in *T'oung Pao* XXV (1928) *Les grands fonctionnaires des provinces en Chine sous la dynastie des T'ang*. The remaining

unpublished portion will be awaited with much anticipation (II. Die Sklaverei. III. Die ökonomische Rolle der buddhistischen Kirche. IV. Geld und Münzwesen. V. Handel und Staatswirtschaft). Completed the work will rank, for the limited period with which it deals, with Takakoshi's epochal *Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan*.

Turning again to the question of the historicity of the dates given for the earliest eras of Chinese civilization, Mr. C. W. Bishop, Assistant Curator of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, contributes a valuable discussion on "The Chronology of Ancient China" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 52, No. 3, September, 1932. Mr. B., whose frequent sojourns in China for archaeological investigations lend unusual authenticity to his conclusions, holds (with H. Maspero) that the origins of Chinese civilization can be traced back to no fabulous antiquity, but only to the third millenium B. C. For documentary authority for this hypothesis he is inclined to reject the chronology of the "History of the Former Han Dynasty" (*Ch'ien Han Shu*) compiled by the historian Pan Ku (d. 92 A.D.) for the greater reliability of the "Bamboo Books" (*Chu Shu Chi Nien*). The chronology of the latter, despite their "recovery" from a tomb in the third century A.D., conforms to that given in the "Memoirs of an Historian" (*Shih Chi*) of the first century B.C. chronicler Ssü-ma Ch'ien. The inscribed clavicles and carapaces exhumed in Honan of late Shang date (latter part of the second millenium B.C.) support the chronology of both the "Bamboo Books" and the *Shih Chi*; while Pan Ku's official reckoning is without other confirmation. Mr. B. bases his reliance upon the dates of the "Bamboo Books" (accession of the first Chou King 1050 B.C.; commencement of the Shang dynasty 1558 B.C., and of the Hsia 1989 B.C.) rather than upon the *Ch'ien Han Shu* (which gives the corresponding respective dates as 1122 B.C., 1766 B.C., and 2205 B.C.), employing an ingenious but convincing calculation. This assumes the chronicled Chou dates of 841 B.C. and 771 B.C. as authentic. Twelve Chou kings are given as having reigned prior to the latter date. At an average reign of twenty years the beginning of the Chou dynasty falls in 1051 B.C., almost precisely the year given in the "Bamboo Books." A similar calculation for thirty recorded kings of the Shang Dynasty cannot assume average reigns of twenty years, for such would extend the chronology too far back. The practice of "fraternal inheritance" under this dynasty shortened the average length of reigns to seventeen years, thus again bringing the date of the origin of the dynasty to around 1558 B.C. The existence of the Hsia dynasty, in the absence of reliable recorded statements or as yet archaeological revelations, and with an official

history obviously patterned after its successor the Shang, must be largely based upon evidences of a genuine folk-recollection. The Chinese regard the Hsia as the founders of the Chinese bronze age, and have preserved the name *Chu Hsia* as one of the most intimate terms to designate their race.

Translations, with exhaustive notations, of a Tun-huang topographical manuscript form the principal contribution to East Asiatic studies of the latest *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London Institution (Vol. VI, Part 4, 1932). Mr. Lionel Giles, under the title of "A Chinese Geographical Text of the Ninth Century," presents photographic reproductions of this document (plates numbered IX-XII) from the Stein Collection of MSS. from Tun-huang at the British Museum (roll S. 367). This treatise, which is associated with the *Tun huang lu* dealing with the district immediately surrounding Tun-huang itself, goes farther afield, following the "southern route" as far as Charchan, after which it doubles back to the oasis of Hami and neighbourhood.

The translations are not greatly affected by the fact that the beginning of the text is lost. Mr. G. has carefully compared the text with the dynastic histories and has obtained from Sir Aurel Stein himself some elucidative notes on points of topographical interest, which are included with his own geographical and historical notes. The annotated translation serves to clear up a number of ethnological, linguistic and geographical questions, when read in conjunction with the Han and T'ang histories particularly.

Under the direction of Professor John C. Parish, *The Pacific Historical Review*, recently established, and issued quarterly by the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, forms a new vehicle for occasional papers on matters relating to the Far East. A contribution of value to the newer school of Occidental students of Chinese history, who are now turning from the well exploited archives of Western foreign offices to relatively unexplored Chinese sources, is Mr. A. K'aiming Ch'iu's "Chinese Historical Documents of the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1644-1911." The writer, whose excellent work in cataloging and arranging the extensive Chinese library at Harvard University is well known, describes the origin and character of various collections of Chinese historical documents some of which have already been published, e.g., *Ch'ou pan i wu shih mo* (The Beginning and End of the Management of Barbarian Affairs, 1836-1874), and *Ch'ing chi wai chiao shih liao* (Documents on Foreign Relations of the Last Two Reigns of the Ch'ing Dynasty, 1875-1911). The documents in these two collections, published by the Palace Museum, Peiping,

with subject index, include imperial decrees, memorials, notes, etc., and form an indispensable source book of modern Chinese history.

Mr. Ch'iu further describes the official documents which have been preserved in enormous quantity from the archives of two principal government establishments under the Manchu Empire, the Nei Ko (Imperial Cabinet) and the Chün Chi Ch'u (Council of State or Privy Council). The functions of these two organs are detailed, and the availability of their archives for research by historians and students of Sinology is indicated. Documents in print and plans for further publications are listed. The Chinese ideographic equivalents of all Chinese names romanized are appended to the article.

E. M. G.

In the new Belgian review "Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques" (1st vol., 1931-2) published in Brussels by the Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises (July, 1932) there is an interesting article by the late Father Van Obbergen, describing his visit to Jehol in 1909. There are fourteen illustrations and it is very interesting to compare these with those of the same subjects taken twenty-one years later during Sven Hedin's visit. Father Obbergen's study is more systematic and scholarly than Sven Hedin's but only includes a few of the temples. It appears that even in 1909 there was practically no furniture in the palaces at Jehol, it having been largely all removed to Peking after the Boxer troubles to make good the losses in the capital.

An interesting text is given concerning the palace built for the visit of the Panchen Lama.

In the March 1933 number of "Kosmos" (Stuttgart), a popular German scientific monthly, Dr. F. Lessing writes on "Der Buddha und das Maultier, Heilgoetter und Nothilfer," illustrating his theme by views taken by Dr. Montell at Jehol during Sven Hedin's visit. (See review of Sven Hedin's book on page 163).

H. C.

The formal report of the *Actes du XVIII^e Congrès International des Orientalistes* held at Leyden, Holland, 7-12 September, 1931, appeared in May, 1932, under the imprint of E. J. Brill, Ltd. This great assemblage of Oriental scholars signified the deep interest of the Occident in Oriental civilizations. Of special note to China was the fact that S. Exc. le jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland, Minister

of Foreign Affairs and a former Minister of Holland to Peking, was a member of the honorary committee in charge; while the distinguished Arabist Professor C. Snouk Hurgronje presided over the general sessions of the Congress. Among those presenting papers at the sessions on China (Section IV—Extrême-Orient et Indonésie) were Dr. E. M. Gale (Berkeley, Calif.): *The Economic Ideology of the Early Han* (206 B.C.—A.D. 8); Miss E. D. Edwards (London): *The Establishment of Schools of Secular Music by Ming Huang of the T'ang Dynasty*; Prof. L. Hodous (Hartford, Conn.): *The Tao Tê Hsiieh Shê, a modern syncretistic Sect in China*; Mrs. Fl. Ayscough (Guernsey): *The Connection between Chinese Calligraphy, Poetry and Painting*; Prof. W. E. Soothill (Oxford): *A Note on Resemblances between certain early Chinese and Roman Astronomical Characteristics*; Prof. P. Pelliot (Paris): *Les tâches urgentes de la Sinologie*; Prof. A. Forke (Hamburg): *Ko Hung, der Philosoph und Alchemist*; Mr. A. Herrmann (Berlin): *Ein neuer historischer Atlas über die Beziehungen zwischen China, Indien und dem vorderen Orient*; Lady Dorothea Hosie (Oxford): *Requirements of a modern Map of China*; Dr. A. W. Hummel (Washington, D.C.): *The sceptical Approach of Chinese History*; Prof. J.J.L. Duyvendak (Leyden): *The Romanization of Chinese*; Prof. G. Vacca (Rome): *La Cina classica nei scritti di Sun Wen*; Prof. H. Maspero (Paris): *Quelques observations sur les classiques et les commentaires chinois*.

In 1922 the British Government announced the decision to devote the proceeds of the British share of the Boxer Indemnity to projects beneficial to China and Great Britain. When a final settlement as to the application of this fund was made in 1931, a sum of £200,000 was assigned to the Universities' China Committee in London for the purpose "generally to encourage closer intellectual co-operation and to promote cultural relations between China and the United Kingdom." From the income the Committee decided to allot £3,000 a year among several British universities for the teaching of Chinese cultural subjects. The share allocated to London University has allowed the Senate to establish a Chair of Chinese Art and Archaeology, tenable at the new Courtauld Institute of Art. Mr. W. Perceval Yetts, who for more than two years has held the post of Lecturer in Chinese Art and Archaeology at the University, was appointed Professor. He is well-known for many writings on these subjects, and especially for several volumes of the monumental catalogue of the famous Eumorfopoulos Collection.

Succeeding to the Chair of Chinese filled for many years by the distinguished sinologue, Professor Herbert A. Giles, the new

professor of the Chinese language at Cambridge University is the Rev. Arthur Christopher Moule, M.A. The Chinese professorship at Cambridge is one of the four chairs founded with the help of grants from the Universities China Committee, which administers a part of the British Boxer Indemnity fund. Professor Moule is a son of the late Rt. Rev. G. E. Moule, D.D., a pioneer of the Church Missionary Society, who instituted Christian propaganda in the city of Hangchow shortly after the devastations of the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion. Arthur Christopher Moule, born at Hangchow, continued his education at King's College, Canterbury, and subsequently entered Trinity College, Cambridge. After ordination, he spent some years as a missionary in Shantung province. Returning to England he continued in the ministry and was presented to the Vicarage of Trumpington on the outskirts of Cambridge, by Trinity College. Professor Moule's most significant work is "Christians in China before 1550" for which he was awarded the Stanislas Julien prize.

The cultural relations between China and Holland, which have been maintained by a succession of notable scholars for many years, have been placed upon an even more substantial foundation by the allocation by the Dutch government of 35 per cent. of the sums still due in payment of the Boxer indemnity to cultural purposes. Of special significance is the yearly apportionment of 47 per cent. of the unused balance of the cultural fund to the Sinological Institute of the University of Leyden for the development of intellectual relations between China and the Netherlands. Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak, the Director of the Institute, is well known for his researches and publications in ante-Han literature; he has frequently lectured in the United States, particularly at Columbia and Harvard Universities and at the University of California. Out of the 35 per cent. reserved for cultural purposes a sum of Florins 400,000 will serve to constitute a special fund which will be placed under the joint administration of the Chinese minister at The Hague, of the president of the Literature Section of the Amsterdam Academy of Science, and the president of the Curatory of the Leyden University.

Fifty-three per cent. of the income of this special fund will be transmitted every year to the Academia Sinica, in China, which will use 13 per cent. of the sum for its own needs and the remainder for the creation of the scholarship fund for Chinese students in the Netherlands. The selection of the beneficiaries of this fund will be made, and the amount fixed, in accord with the Dutch minister in China.

The venerable Director of the great polyglot printing house of E. J. Brill, Ltd., Leyden, celebrated his eightieth birthday on the 28th December last. Mr. Peltenberg, despite his essential part in the printing and publishing of innumerable works in a variety of languages reminiscent of the traditions of the Tower of Babel, has always remained modestly in the background. Scholars desirous of publishing particularly the results of linguistic researches, have however, always found him not only sympathetic but of great practical helpfulness. In Sinology the Director of Brill has been responsible for the publication of Professor H. A. Giles' monumental Chinese-English Dictionary and the continued appearance of the *T'oung Pao* over many decades.

Of prime interest to those who employ the spoken Chinese language is the publication of new editions of two of Dr. Evan Morgan's widely-known handbooks, *New Terms, Revised and Enlarged*, and *The New Chinese Speaker, Readings in Modern Mandarin*. Both are republished by Kelly and Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai,—the first in convenient pocket form, the second in an attractive blue board binding, with bold Chinese and clear English letter-press. A great variety of words and phrases appears in *New Terms*, culled largely from newspapers and periodicals. One might perhaps question the actual general currency of some of these. The *New Chinese Speaker* contains a diversity of topical matter, ranging from religion and morality to administrative and judicial.

The sympathy of this Society is extended to Le Directeur et les Membres de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, on the great loss sustained in the death of their collaborator Jean Bouchot, membre correspondant de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, who died at Besançon on the 9th of May, 1932, in the forth-fifth year of his age.

E. M. G.

PRESENTATIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

June 1932 to April 1933.

Le Shinto, Religion Nationale du Japon, par G. Kato, 1931.	<i>From Publisher.</i>	
The Temples of Anking and their Cults, a Study of Modern Chinese Religion, by J. Shryock, 1931.	"	"
Indexing Chinese Books, by William Hung, 1931.	"	"
Index to Po Hu T'ung, 1931.	"	"
Index to K'ao Ku Chih Yi, 1931.	"	"
Index to Li Tai T'ung Hsing Ming Lu, 1931.	"	"
Chinese Chronological Charts with Index, 1931.	"	"
Index to Yi Li and to the Titles noted in the Commentaries, 1932.	"	"
Index to Ssü K'ü Ch'uan Shu Tsung Mu and Wei Shou Shu Mu, 2 vols., 1932.	"	"
T'ang Love Stories, by S. Y. Shu, 1932.	"	"
Chinese Proverbs, by A. H. Plopper, 1932.	"	"
Mencius on the Mind, Experiments in Multiple Definition, by I. A. Richards, 1932.	"	"
Three Chinese Philosophers or "The Door to all Spirituality," by A. J. Brace, 1932.	"	"
La Chine et la Formation de l'Esprit Philosophique en France (1640-1740), par V. Pinot, 1932.	"	"
Documents Inédits, Relatifs à la Connaissance de la Chine en France de 1685 a 1740, par V. Pinot, 1932.	"	"
Three Lectures on Chinese Folklore, by R. D. Jameson, 1932.	"	"
The China Architects and Builders Compendium, 1932. Edited by J. T. W. Brooke and R. W. Davis, 8th issue.	"	"
Third Report on Progress in Manchuria, 1907-1932.	"	"
A Classified List of Reference Books in the National Library of Peiping, 1932.	"	"
A Classified Catalogue of the Mollendorff Collection deposited in the Library of Peiping by Chu Chi Chien, 1932.	"	"
Jehol, City of Emperors, by Sven Hedin, translated from Swedish by E. G. Nash, 1932.	"	"
Veränderungen der wirtschaftsgeographischen Beziehungen in Korea unter dem Einfluss der Erschliessung von Dr. J. Linke, 1932.	"	"
The Fifth Army in the Shanghai War, 1932.	"	"
Report of the League Assembly on the Manchurian Dispute, 1932.	"	"
Handbook of North China Amphibia and Reptiles, by A. M. Boring, Ch'eng-chao Liu, and Shu-ch'un Chou, 1932.	"	"

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Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jesuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine 1552-1773, par L. Pfister, 1932.	"	"
Somanatha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawad, by H. Cousens, 1931.	"	"
Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan, by H. Cousens, 1931.	"	"
Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa, by M. Hamid, 1931.	"	"
Chinese Weapons, by E. T. C. Werner, 1932.	"	"
Reports, National Quarantine Service, Series III, 1932.	"	"
Status of the Shanghai International Settlement, by Chiu Chin-tsan and Siu Kong-sou, 1933.	"	"
Anti-Chinese and Anti-Foreign Teachings in New Textbooks and Publications of Japan.	"	"
One Year of Japanese Occupation of Manchuria.	"	"
Ancient Monuments of Kashmir, by Ram Chandra Kak, 1933.	"	"
Bulletin of the Fan Memorial Institute of Biology, Vol. III, Nos. 15-20, 1932.	"	"
Fourth Annual Report of the Fan Memorial Institute of Biology, 1932.	"	"
Bulletin of the Biogeographical Society of Japan, Vol. 2, No. 3 and Vol. 3, No. 1, 1932.	"	"
Proceedings of the Indiana Academy of Science, Vol. 40, Vol. 41, 1932.	"	"
Gentes Herbarum, Vol. II, Fasc. VII, 1932 and Vol. III, Fasc. 1-2, 1933.	"	"
The Hongkong Naturalist, Supplement Edited by G. A. C. Herklots, No. 1, 1932 and No. 2, 1933.	"	"
The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Bulletin No. 4, 1932.	"	"
Bulletin of the Business Historical Society, Vol. VII, No. 1, 1933.	"	"
Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XIII, No. 1, Vol. XIV, No. 1, and Vol. XV, No. 1.	"	"
Interests of Chinese Students, by James B. Webster, University of Shanghai, 1932.	"	"
Peiping Rhymes, by Kinchen Johnson, 1932.		<i>From French Bookstore, Peiping.</i>
The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language, by J. Mullie, 1932.	"	" "
Typhoon in 1930, by Father E. Gheresi, 1932.		<i>From Author.</i>
Sociology's Coming of Age, by Shang-ling Fu, 1931.	"	"
Two Bronze Drums, by J. C. Ferguson, 1932.	"	"
Chinese Medica, VI Avian Drugs, by B. E. Read, 1932.	"	"
The Winds and the Upper Air Currents along the China Coasts and in the Yangtse Valley, by Father E. Gheresi, 1932.	"	"
History of Chinese Medicine, Being a Chronicle of Medical Happenings in China from Ancient Times to the Present Period, by K. Chimin Wong and Wu Lien-teh, 1932.	"	"

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Chinese Coins without Currency, by I. S. Coushnir, 1932.	"	"		
Anglo-Chinese Glossary of Modern Terms for Customs and Commercial Use, 3rd Edition Revised, by C. A. S. Williams, 1933.	"	"		
The Chinese Lama Temple Potala of Jehol, A Century of Progress Exposition, Chicago, 1932.	"	"		
The Gyroscope (Its Laws and Mysteries), A Non-Mathematical Explanation, by Theodore Bodde, 1933.	"	"		
The Fifteen Different Classes of Measurers as given in the Lu Li Chih of the Sui dynasty History, by Ma Heng, translated by J. C. Ferguson, 1932.	"	<i>Dr. J. C. Ferguson.</i>		
The Silver Market, by H. M. Bratter, 1932.	"	<i>Mr. D. H. Leavens.</i>		
Western Travellers to China, by Frances M. Roberts, 1932.	"	<i>Author.</i>		
A Sketch of Chinese Arts and Crafts, by Hilda Arthurs Strong, 1933.	"	<i>French Bookstore, Peiping.</i>		
China Its Marvel and Mystery, by T. H. Liddell.	"	<i>Mr. E. B. Heaton-Smith.</i>		
The Imperial History of China, by J. Macgowan.	"	"	"	"
The Diary of His Excellency Ching-Shan being A Chinese Account of the Boxer Troubles, translated by J. J. L. Duyvendak.	"	"	"	"
Chinese Folk-lore Tales, by J. Macgowan.	"	"	"	"
Something Lighter, by J. O. P. Bland.	"	"	"	"
My Chinese Note Book, by Lady Townley.	"	"	"	"
Sidelights on Chinese Life, by J. Macgowan.	"	"	"	"
Houseboat Days in China, by J. O. P. Bland.	"	"	"	"
Recent Events and Present Policies in China, by J. O. P. Bland.	"	"	"	"
China Under the Empress Dowager, by J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse.	"	"	"	"
Li Hung-chang, by J. O. P. Bland.	"	"	"	"
China, Japan and Korea, by J. O. P. Bland.	"	"	"	"
Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking, by J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse.	"	"	"	"
Peking, by J. Bredon.	"	"	"	"
The Civilization of China, by H. A. Giles.	"	"	"	"
Quips from a Chinese Jest-book, by H. A. Giles.	"	"	"	"
Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio, by H. A. Giles.	"	"	"	"
Chinese Characteristics, by A. H. Smith.	"	"	"	"
Village Life in China, by A. H. Smith.	"	"	"	"
The Chinese at Home, by J. Dyer Ball.	"	"	"	"
Buddhist China, by R. F. Johnston.	"	"	"	"
Chinese Folk-lore, by J. Macgowan.	"	"	"	"
Half a Century in China, by A. E. Moule.	"	"	"	"
Two Gentlemen of China, by Lady Hosie.	"	"	"	"
Researches into Chinese Superstitions, by Henry Doré, translated by M. Kennelly, Vol. I.	"	"	"	"
An Authentic Account of an Embassy to China, 2 vols. and 1 Folio vol. of Plates, 1727.	"	"	"	"



NORTH-CHINA BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

LIST OF MEMBERS, 1933.

Members changing address are earnestly requested to
inform the Secretary at once.

Name	Address	Year of Election
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HONORARY MEMBERS

Ayscough, Mrs. F., D.LITT.	St. Andrews, New Brunswick, Canada	1906
Barton, Sir Sidney, K.B.E., C.M.G. . .	British Legation, Addis Ababa, Abyssinia	1906
Ferguson, Dr. John C.	3 Hsi Ch'iao Hutung, Peiping	1896
Forke, Dr. A.	The University, Hamburg	1894
Giles, Prof. Herbert Allen	Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge	1880
Lanman, Prof. Charles B.	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mas- sachusetts	1908
Lockhart, Sir J. H. Stewart, K.C.M.G.	6 Cresswell Gardens, South Kensington, London, S.W. 5, England	1885
Mason, Isaac, F.R.G.S.	"Suining," Loxwood Avenue, Worthing, Sussex, England	1916
Morse, H. B., LL.D.	Arden, Camberley, England	1888
Pelliot, Prof. Paul	38 Rue de Varenne, Paris VII. . . .	1901
Pott, Dr. F. L. Hawks.	St. John's University, Shanghai . . .	1918
Putman, Herbert	Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.	1908
Sampatrao, H. H. the Prince	Gaekwar of Baroda, India	1898

Name	Address	Year of Election
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CORRESPONDING MEMBER

Williams, E. T., LL.D.	University of California, Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A.	1889
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MEMBERS

(The asterisk denotes Life Membership).

Abbott, W. E.	c/o Chief Sanitation Chemist, Shanghai	1926
Abend, Hallett	New York Times Office, Embankment Bldg., Shanghai	1933
Abraham, Miss A.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1933
*Abraham, R. D.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1914
Adams, Rev. A. S.	American Baptist Foreign Mission, Hopu, via Swatow, South China	1923
Adam, Miss Edith M.	Ellis Kadoorie School, Shanghai	1920
Alexander, John	254 Fulham Road, London, England	1932
Allan, Rev. C. W., C.L.S.	19 Museum Road, Shanghai	1933
Allman, Norwood F.	Hamilton House, Room 206, Shanghai	1932
Ambrose, F. W.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1925
Ancell, Rev. B. L., D.D.	24 Minghong Road, Shanghai	1911
Andersson, Dr. J. G.	c/o Statens Histouska Museum, Stock- holm, Sweden	1919
Argelander, F.	M. E. Mission, Kiukiang.	1930
Arlington, L. C.	Chinese Post Office, Peiping	1917
Arnold, H. H.	6 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1932
Arnold, Julean H.	Room 502 Dollar Bldg., 3 Canton Road, Shanghai	1904
Bahnson, J. J.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1909
Bahr, A. W.	41 West 49th Street, New York City..	1909
Bailey, R. M.		1925
Baillie, T. G.	Headmaster, Polytechnic Public School, Shanghai	1931
Baker, D. C.	Modesto, Cal., U.S.A.	1923
*Barchet, Miss H.	Ningpo	1931
Barnett, Eugene E.	20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1926
Barrie, Dr. Howard	461 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1920
*Bayne, Parker M.	Acadia University, Wolfville, Nova Scotia, Canada	1911
Beale, N. G.	General Elec. Co. of China, Ltd., Shanghai	1932
Beaman, W. F.	338 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai (cor. Rue Chapsal)	1921

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Beauvais, J.	Consul-General, Maison Duffan, Place Antoine de Moelhon, Ville franche de Rovergue, Aveyron, France . . .	1900
Bell, A. D.	c/o Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai	1933
Beltchenko, A. T.	Portuguese Consulate, Hankow . . .	1913
Bennett, Capt. N. R.	"Sea Mist," Hunttable Hill, Chelston, Torquay, Devon, England	1923
*Bessell, F. L.	c/o Dr. Alderson, 34 Knight's Park, Kingston-on-Thames, England . . .	1905
Beytagh, L. M.		1910
Biallas, Dr. F. X.	709 Rue Ratard, Shanghai	1927
Bigel, Emile	Messageries Maritimes, 9/10 French Bund, Shanghai	1925
*Black, S.	Ulvemosevej I, Rungsted, Kyot, Denmark	1910
Blackburn, A. D.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1917
Boey, P. L. Mingcheng	May Hall, Hongkong University, Hongkong	1929
Boezi, Dr. Guido	Miniere di Montevocchio, Via Francesco Carrara 27, Rome (10), Italy . . .	1920
Bonin, Dr. G. von	Dept. of Anatomy, Peking Union Medical College, Peiping	1926
Boode, E. P.	25 Bazarstraat, The Hague, Holland . .	1920
Bookless, A.	Chinese Government Salt Inspectorate, Shanghai	1933
Borst-Smith, Rev. E. F.		1923
Bos, W.	Vlentin (v.), Holland	1923
Bosworth, Miss S. M.	143 East Washington St., Pasadena, Calif., U.S.A.	1919
Bowden, V. G.	A. Cameron & Co. (China), Ltd., 21 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1923
Bowen, Mrs. A. J.	975 N. Garfield Avenue, Pasadena, Calif., U.S.A.	1929
*Box, Rev. Ernest		1897
*Brace, Capt. A. J.	Chengtu, Szechuen	1921
Bremer, Miss M. A.	Am. Church Mission, Yangchow . . .	1929
Brenan, Sir J. F. K.C.M.G.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1930
Brenneman, Mrs. J. J.	P.O. Box No. 1444, 15 Museum Road, Shanghai	1922
Brisker, M. G.	c/o The Thatched House Club, 86 St. James' Street, London, W.	1921
Bristow, H. H.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai . .	1909
Bristow, John A.	Socony Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1933
Brittle, Miss Edith M.	109 Seymour Road, Shanghai	1932
*Britton, Roswell S.	430 West 118th St., New York City, U.S.A.	1931
Britland, Rev. A. J. D.	Church of England Mission, Peiping . .	1924
Brockman, W. W.	South Garden, Soochow	1927
Brooke, J. T. W.	Davies & Brooke, Shanghai	1915
Browett, Harold	8 Museum Road, Shanghai	1891
Brown, I. S.		1927

Name	Address	Year of Election
Brown, Miss M.	C.L.S., 19 Museum Road, Shanghai . .	1931
Brown, N. S.	Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai . . .	1930
*Brown, Thomas	La Roque, Sutton, Surrey	1885
*Bruce, Edward B.		1918
Bruce, Rev. J. Percy, D.LITT.	"Teesdale," 31 Egmont Road, Sutton, Surrey, England	1916
Bryson, Dr. A. C.	Dr. Jackson & Partners, Shanghai . .	1932
Buchler, W.	261 Goldhurst Terrace, London, N.W. 6, England	1930
*Buckens, Dr. F.		1915
Bugge, Rev. Sten	Lutheran Theol. Seminary, Hankow . .	1924
*Buma, C. W. A.	Marssum, Friesland, Holland	1921
Burdick, Miss S. M.	Baptist Mission, West Gate, Shanghai..	1909
Burkill, A. W.	2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1912
Burnett, W. J.	British Wireless Marine Service, 2nd floor, Hongkong Bank Chambers, Calleyer Quay, Singapore	1923
Burnie, C. M. G.	Union Ins. Soc. of China, Ltd., London c/o Baptist Missionary Society, 19 Furnival St., London, E.C. 4	1932
Burt, Rev. E. W., M.A.		1928
Butland, C. A.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Chinkiang . .	1920
Byerly, Miss A. E.	74 Ta Tsao Kai, Wuchang, Hupeh . .	1923
Caldwell, Master J. C.		1930
Caldwell, Rev. H. R.	M. E. Mission, Foochow, Fu	1920
Cannan, A. M.	Gibb, Livingstone & Co., Shanghai . .	1933
Carbone, A. S.		1931
Carey, H. Foote	Woosung-Hankow Pilots, Shanghai . .	1923
Carlsen, N. P. V.	G. N. Telegraph Co. of Denmark, Tientsin	1923
*Carpenter, G. B.		1920
Carr, Paul R.	2923 Packard Street, Long Island City, N.Y., U.S.A.	1923
Carriere, J. D.	Java-China-Japan Lijn, Shanghai . .	1932
Cassels, W. C.	c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1921
Chadsey, Mrs. Roy		1930
Chang, F.	American Asiatic Underwriters, 17 The Bund, Shanghai	1924
Chang Hsin-hai, PH.D.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Nanking . .	1923
Chang, Kwang Tou	Fuh Tan University, Kiangwan	1933
Chang, Sherman H. M.	National Shanghai Institute of Commerce, 1348 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1933
Chatley, Herbert, D.Sc.	Whangpoo Conservancy Board, Shanghai	1916
*Chen, K. P.	Shanghai Commercial & Savings Bank, Shanghai	1933
Chen, L. T.	Kincheng Banking Corp., Shanghai . .	1932
*Chen, W. Hanming	c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai	1923
Cheng, Tsee Yoong	700 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai . . .	1933

Name	Address	Year of Election
Chieri V., Cav. Uff. Dott	The Italian Manufacturers Agency, 320 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1923
Chu Pei-hao		1929
Claiborne, Miss Elizabeth		1908
Chu, P. K.	World's Chinese Students' Federation, Shanghai	1932
Clarke, E. G.	Stock Exchange, Shanghai	1932
Clarke, Miss M. H.	McTyeire School, Shanghai	1928
*Clementi, His Excellency Sir C. .	Government House, Singapore	1905
Clifton, Baroness		1921
Clubb, O. Edmund, A.B.	American Consulate, Hankow	1931
*Cole, Rev. W. B.	Sien Yu, Fukien	1917
Cook, Capt. A.	Messrs. Butterfield & Swire, 163 Waterloo Road, Kowloon Long, Hongkong ..	1929
Cook, Cyril B.	Imperial Chemical Industries (China), Ltd., Shanghai	1933
Cocle, A. B.	Tientsin Hui Wen Academy, M. E. Church, South Suburb, Tientsin	1926
Cooper, Miss G. L.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1928
Corbett, R. J.	Socony-Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1933
Corrie, R. G.		1930
Costenoble, H.	A. Ehlers & Co., 66 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1923
Couling, Mrs. C. E.	40 Birchington Road, Crouch End, London, N. 8	1916
Coushnir, I. S.	The Bookstall, 282 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1931
Crampton, C. L.	Dept. of Geology & Geography, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, U.S.A..	1925
*Cressey, G. B.	351 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai ..	1928
Cressy, Rev. Earl H.	Caldbeck, MacGregor & Co., Ltd., Shanghai	1932
Crokam, W. G.		1913
Crow, C.	16 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1929
Cumine, H. M.	48 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1922
Cunningham, E. S.	American Consulate-General, Shanghai	
Currelly, C. T.	Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, Canada	1923
D'Alton, V. L.	Chinese Post Office, Shanghai	1924
D'Alton, Mrs. F.	Chinese Post Office, Shanghai	1930
Danton, Prof. G. H.	184 Woodland Ave., Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.	1918
*Darch, O. W.	The British Imp. Oil Co., Ltd., Mel- bourne, Australia	1922
Darroch, Rev. J., D.LITT.		1928
Davey, W. J.	101 Hart Road, Shanghai	1920
Davidson, J. W. O., O.B.E.	British Consulate-General, Shanghai ..	1933
*Davidson, R.	c/o Mrs. Frew, 66 Leamington Terrace, Edinburgh, Scotland	1914
Davis, John K.	American Consulate-General, Seoul, Chosen	1927

Name	Address	Year of Election
Davis, Dr. C. Noel		1910
Davis, R. W.	North-China Daily News, Shanghai ..	1924
D'Elia, Rev. Father P. M., S.J.	Bureau Sinologique, Siccawei	1923
De Korne, Rev. John C.	Jukao, Kiangsu	1927
*Deas, Stuart	c/o Messrs. John Swire & Sons, 8 Billitor Square, London, E.C., England	1919
Dent, R. V.	321 Avenue du Roi Albert, Shanghai ..	1933
Diehr, C. O. M.	Salt Revenuc, Santai, N. Szechuen ..	1929
Dingle, Edwin J.	5455 Buena Vista Avenue, Rockbridge, Oakland, California, U.S.A.	1917
Donald, William H.		1911
Donnelly, Ivon A.	Mackenzie & Co., Tientsin	1923
Drake, Rev. F. S., B.A., B.D.	Cheeloo School of Theology, Tsinanfu, Shantung	1930
*Drake, Noah F.	Fayetteville, Arkansas, U.S.A.	1928
*Drew, E. B.	Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. ..	1882
Duncan, A. McL.	C. M. Customs, Shanghai	1922
*Duyvendak, Prof. Dr. J. J. L.	Sinologisch Instituut, Reiden, Lapenburg 71, Holland	1915
Edmondston, David C.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Grace- church St., London, E.C.	1917
Elahi, M. Fazal	70 Chekiang Road, Shanghai	1933
Ely, John A.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1917
Ely, Mrs. J. A.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1917
Emanoff, N. N.	Messrs. Davies, Brooke & Gran, Shanghai	1933
Enders, Mrs. Gordon B.	365 Rue Cardinal Mercier, Shanghai ..	1922
Engel, Max. M.	89 Kuan Yin Sze Hutung, Peiping ..	1911
Englaender, Dr. A. L.	83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1928
*Eriksen, A. H.	Carolinevøj 11, Hellerup, Denmark ..	1915
Eskelund, A. H.	c/o P. O. Box 1671, Messrs. Knipschildt & Eskelund, 56 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1931
Essex Institute, Librarian	Salem, Massachusetts	1906
Evan-Jones, Dr. E.	73 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1932
Evans, Joseph J.	Evans & Sons, Shanghai	1916
*Farley, Prof. M. F.	Fukien Christian University, Foochow..	1924
Feetham, Hon. Mr. Justice, C.M.G.	c/o S. M. C., Shanghai	1930
*Fearn, Mrs. J. B.	c/o Cathay Hotel, Shanghai	1911
Ferguson, Capt. D.	Pilots' Association, 24 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Ferrajolo, Capt. R.	Italian Legation, Nanking	1920
Finch, A. B.	North China Daily News, Shanghai ..	1922
Firth, B.	Messrs. Wheelock & Co., Shanghai ..	1926
Fischer, Emil S.	Tientsin	1894
Fitch, Rev. George A.	Y.M.C.A., 38 Bubbling Well Road, S'hai	1921
Flemons, Sidney	Shanghai Telephone Co., Shanghai ..	1917

LIST OF MEMBERS

191

Name	Address	Year of Election
Fong, F. Sec.	34 Scott Road, Shanghai	1930
Fox, Sir Harry H., C.M.G.	c/o Foreign Office, London	1907
Frank, G. M., F.R.G.S.	British & Foreign Bible Society, Chengtu	1922
Fraser, D.	"Beaufort," Knapp Hill, Surrey	1931
Fraser, M. F. A.	Chambre de Commerce Française de Changhai, Shanghai	1924
Fredet, J.	Dorman Long & Associates (China), Ltd., 49 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1922
Freeman, F. R.	Asia Life Insurance Co., 17 The Bund, Shanghai	1932
Freeman, M.	c/o P. O. Box No. 1013, Shanghai	1925
Freise, Ignaz A. C. J.	Swan, Culbertson & Fritz, Shanghai	1932
Fritz, Mrs. Bordine S.	Hungjao Road, Shanghai	1933
Fryer, George B.		1901
Gabbott, F. R.	Messrs. Gabbott & Co., Shanghai	1929
Gale, Esson M., M.A., PH.D.	Salt Revenue Administration, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1911
Galt, Rev. E. W.	Fenchow, Shansi	1924
*Gamble, Sidney D.	347 Madison Avenue, New York, U.S.A.	1922
Gardner, H. G.	c/o Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch St., London, E.C.	1906
*Garritt, Rev. J. C.		1907
Garrod, S. H.		1931
*Gates, Miss J.	430 W 119th High Street, New York City, U.S.A.	1931
Gaunt, Percy	Chinese Legation, London	1921
Gaunt, Rev. T., M.A.	Theological School, Wumiao, Nanking	1921
Gerhaz, J. F.	c/o Light Office, Marine Dept., Chinese Maritime Customs, Shanghai	1929
*Gerken, Chas.		1922
Gest Chinese Research Library, The	McGill University, Montreal, Canada	1927
Gibson, H. E.	c/o Robt. Dollar Co., Shanghai	1915
Gilliam, J.	British Cigarette Co., Shanghai	1915
Gillis, Captain J. H.	American Legation, Peiping	1911
Goddard, W. G.	Box 1954, G.P.O., Melbourne, Australia	1929
*Goodrich, L. C.	509 Philosophy Hall, Columbia Univer- sity, New York, U.S.A.	1933
Goullart, P.	c/o Post Box No. 1145, Shanghai	1930
Graham, Rev. David C.	c/o American Baptist Mission, Chengtu	1924
Gran, E. M.	21 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1930
Graves, Rt. Rev. F. R., D.D.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1918
Graves, Miss Lucy J.	St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai	1929
Grimmo, A. E. P.		1924
*Grodtmann, Johans	China Export-Import & Banking Co., A.G., Hamburg, 15 Glockengisserwall wall	1398
*Groenman, F. E. H.	Netherlands Consulate-General, Shang- hai	1929
Grosbois, Ch., M.A.	Ecole Municipale Française, Shanghai	1922

Name	Address	Year of Election
Gull, E. Manico	China Association, London	1915
*Gunzburg, Baron G. de	9 Rue Pommere (XVI), Paris	1908
Gutt, C. J.	Pharma, 29 Szechuan Road, Shanghai ..	1928
Gwynne, Thomas	Postal Supply Dept., Secretary's Office, 86 Kiaochow Road, Shanghai	1913
Gyles, Paymaster Rear-Admiral H. A.	Wardown House, Petersfield, Hants, England	1919
*Hackmann, H.	Hoofdweg 34, Amsterdam, Holland ..	1903
Hail, Rev. W. J., Ph.D.	The College of Wooster, 614 E. University St., Wooster, Ohio, U.S.A. ..	1922
Hambleton, Roscoe L.	705 Hamilton House, Shanghai	1933
Hamilton, Dr. A. Isabel	Presbyterian Mission, South Gate, Shanghai	1930
Hammond, Miss Louise S.	A.C.M. Hsiakuan, Nanking	
Handley-Derry, H. F.	British Consulate-General, Yunnanfu, Yunnan	1903
*Hangchow Christian College, President	Zak-kow, Hangchow	1924
*Harding, H. I.	British Consulate, Tsinan, Shantung ..	1914
Hardy, Dr. W. M.	618 N. Broadway, Lexington, Ky., U.S.A.	1912
Harpur, C.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1901
Harris, E. A.	Shanghai-Nanking Railway, Shanghai ..	1932
Hart, Henry H., A.B., J.D.	Oriental Arts, 328 Post Street, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.	1924
Hartman, E. A.		1931
Hartopp, E. L.	59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1931
Harvey, Rev. E. D.	Yale-in-China Office, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.	1924
Hasbund, A. H.		1927
*Haward, Edwin	c/o North China Daily News, Shanghai ..	1931
Hayes, L. Newton	68 Recreation Road, Tientsin	1924
*Hayim, A. J.	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai ..	1928
*Hayim, Ellis	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai ..	1930
Heacock, Mrs. H. E.	c/o Messrs. Heacock & Cheek, S'hai ..	1921
Healey, Leonard C.	Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai ..	1913
Heaney, R. S.	British Consulate, Shanghai	1933
Heaton-Smith, E. B.	Gibb, Livingston & Co., Shanghai	1922
Heeren, Rev. J. J., Ph.D.	100 Fourth Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1915
Heidenstam, H. von	Hogvalla, Vadsbro, near Stockholm, Sweden	1916
Heine, Miss A. de J.	1065 Lexington Ave., New York City, U.S.A.	1931
Hemingway, B.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Newchwang	1922
Henchman, A. S.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai ..	1929
Henke, Frederick G., Ph.D.	643 William Street, Meadville, Pennsylvania, U.S.A.	1912
Henry, J. M.	Lingnan University, Canton	1922
*Henry Lester Institute of Medical Research	1318 Avenue Road, Shanghai	1933

Name	Address	Year of Election
*Hepner, Rev. C. W., B.D., M.A.	228 Furuyashiki, Ashiya, Hyogo Ken, Japan	1931
Hers, Joseph	c/o P. O. Box No. 570, 773 Rue Bourgeat, Shanghai	1907
Hickling, N. W.	89 Jessfield Road, Shanghai	1922
*Hilderbrandt, Adolf	8a Albrechstr., Lichterfeld-Berlin, Germany	1907
Hinder, Miss E. M.	Shanghai Municipal Council, Shanghai	1930
Hind, H. M.	c/o Phoenix Insurance Co., Shanghai	1928
*Hippisley, A. E.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, London.. . . .	1876
Hiron, C. J. . . . .	. . . . .	1930
Hobden, H.	36 Jinkee Road, Shanghai	1932
*Hodous, Rev. L.	Kennedy School of Missions, 155 Broad Street, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.	1913
Hoehnke, F.	Union Brewery, Shanghai	1932
Hommel, R. P.	"Gorgoyl," Richlandtown, Pa., U.S.A. (Director, Mercer Expedition for Historical Research in the Far East, Fouthill, Doylestown, Pa., U.S.A.)	1927
Hone, Herman	Otto & Co., Box No. 1819, Shanghai	1933
Hopkins, Paul S.	17 Lucerne Road, Shanghai	1933
Howard, Mrs. A. E. N.	c/o Jean Lindsay, 22 Nanking Road, Shanghai	1932
How, Mrs. Bang	The China Critic, Shanghai	1933
Howells, R. M.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1928
Hsia, Dr. C. L.	Chinese Legation, London	1925
*Hsu, Sing-loh	National Commercial Bank, Shanghai	1932
Hu Shih, B.A., PH.D.	4 Mi Liang Ku, Peiping	1928
Hubbard, G. E.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai.. . . .	1932
Hubbard, Rev. H. W.	American Board Mission, Paotingfu	1924
Hudson, Mrs. Alfred	Ningpo	1909
Hughes, A. J.	China United Assurance Society, S'hai	1909
Hughes, Rev. E. R. . . . .	. . . . .	1929
Hughes, W. E.	A.P.C., Shanghai	1921
Hume, E. H., M.D.	c/o Post Graduate Medical School, New York City, U.S.A.	1922
*Hummel, A. W.	c/o Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.	1919
Hutchinson, W., B.Sc. (Leeds)	International Export Co., Hankow	1931
Hutchison, D. C.	c/o J. D. Hutchison & Co., Shanghai Bank Bldg., Shanghai	1926
Hynd, R. R.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Bombay.. . . .	1918
Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies	University of Nanking, Tao Yuen Compound, Kan Ho Yen, Nanking	1931
Inui, Kiyo Sue, LL.D.	Imp. Japanese Legation, Shanghai	1933
Irvine, Miss Elizabeth	464 Rue Lafayette, Shanghai	1910
Irvine, D. A.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai	1913
Jacobsen, Axel	40 Ningpo Road, Shanghai	1933
Jaspar, M. A.	French Consulate-General, Shanghai	1933
Johnson, N. T.	American Legation, Peiping	1912

Name	Address	Year of Election
Johnson, O. S., PH.D.	c/o Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana, U.S.A.	1927
Johnson, B. C. M.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Manila..	1926
Johnson, Sir R. F., K.C.M.G., C.B.E.	Thatched House Club, St. James' Street, London	1907
Joly, P. B.	Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1913
Jones, H. J. S.		1923
Jones, J. R., M.A.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai . .	1924
Jong, Th. de J.	Netherlands Legation, Peiping . . .	1914
Jordan, Dr. J. H., M.A.	Health Office, Shanghai	1922
*Joseph, S. M.	c/o Cathay Hotel, Shanghai	1920
*Jost, A.	Charles Rudolf & Co., Zurich, Switzerland	1912
Justesen, M. L.	c/o 8 French Bund, Shanghai	1913
Kann, E.	941 Avenue Foch, Shanghai	1929
Karlbeck, O.	Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm, Sweden	1914
Karlgren, Dr. B.	University of Gothenburg, Sweden . .	1922
Keaney, Dr. F. P.	141 Seymour Road, Shanghai	1933
Keeton, G. W., B.A., LL.B.	Victor University, Manchester	1926
Kellogg, C. R.	Fukien Christian University, Foochow .	1919
Kennedy, George		1929
Kent, A. S.	c/o B.A.T. Co., Shanghai	1913
*Kern, D. S.	Robin, Manitoba, Canada	1912
Kilner, E.	8 Florence Road, Ealing, London W. 5	1909
*King Chien Kun	104 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai . .	1932
King, Mrs. D. K.		1930
King, Prof. Harrison	St. John's University, Jessfield . . .	1927
*King, Louis M.	3 Purley Avenue, London, N.W. 2 . .	1911
*King, Sohtsu G.	11 Kaka Hutung, Peiping	1924
*Klautke, Rektor Paul	Stettin 10, Heblweg 16, Germany . .	1924
*Kliene, Charles	41 Pingliang Road, Shanghai	1916
Klubien, J.	Ch. M. Customs, Canton	1913
Kotenev, A. M.	135 Weihaiwei Road, Shanghai . . .	1924
*Krisel, A.	21 Museum Road, Shanghai	1914
Krueger, Pastor E.	1 Great Western Road, Shanghai..	1930
Kuck, Fritz W.	c/o Kaiser Wilhelm Schule, 1 Great Western Road, Shanghai	1930
*Kunisawa Shimbei	270 Hyakunin-cho, Ohkubo, Tokyo . .	1917
Kuo, C. C.	Chung-Hwa Studio, 349 Kwangse Road, Shanghai	1932
Kuo Ping Wen, Dr.	c/o Ta Hua Development Co., Shanghai	1932
Kwauk, S. L.	Shanghai Benevolent Industrial Institute, 91 Kiaochow Road, Shanghai . .	1932
*Kwauk, Z. U.	Director, Nanking and Shanghai Railway, Shanghai	1931
Kwong, Edward Y. K.	Passage 297/2 Route Winling, Shanghai	1932
Kwong, H. K.	c/o The China Critic, Shanghai . . .	1933
Lachlan, Miss A.	c/o Westminster Bank, Old Street Branch, City Road, London	1923

Name	Address	Year of Election
Lamansky, V. V.	Bearn Apts. 94, Shanghai	1932
Lambele, A. R. A.	100 Route de Say Zoong, Shanghai	1933
Lambert, Henri	Banque Belge pour l'Etranger, 6 Kiu-kiang Road, Shanghai	1929
Lamson, H. D.	Dept. of Sociology, Shanghai University, Shanghai	1932
Lang, Robert	1427 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1924
*Lauderdale, T.	c/o National City Coy., Shanghai	1932
Lanning, V. H.	c/o S'hai Exchange Brokers' Ass'n., Shanghai	1916
*Latourette, Prof. K. S.	The Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.	1912
*Laufer, Dr. Berthold	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago	1901
Laurenz, Mrs. Rudolf	658 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1932
*Laver, Capt. H. E.	Head Street, Colchester, Essex	1912
*Leavens, D. H.	Harvard Business School, Soldiers Field Station, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.	1917
*Leavenworth, Chas. S.	79 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. U.S.A.	1901
Lechler, J. H., M.D.	C.M.S., Mienchuhsien, Sze.	1929
Lee, William Yinson	Sun Life Ins. Co., Shanghai	1933
Leete, Rev. Wm.	The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.	1913
Lefever, R. H.	Seneca Castle, N.Y., U.S.A.	1924
Lenhart, Miss L. E.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1923
*Leslie, T.	Elmers Glen, Salfords, Horley, Surrey, England	1914
Lester, Miss E. S.	2807 Conn. Ave., Apt. 305, Washington, D. C., U.S.A.	1919
Lewis, J.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1932
Lim Boon Kong, Dr.	University of Amoy, Amoy	1930
*Li Ming	Chekiang Industrial Bank, Shanghai	1932
Li Ting An, Dr.	Commissioner of Health, Greater Shanghai Municipality, Nantao	1933
Lieu, Dr. D. K.	6 Hsin Yeh Lee, Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1933
Linde, Mrs. A. M. de		1922
*Lindsay, Dr. Ashley W.	West China Union University, College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu	1930
Ling, C. P.	China Commercial Adv. Agency, 2 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1932
*Little, Edward S.	Keri Keri, New Zealand	1910
Little, L. K.	21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1931
Liu, Dr. Herman C. E.	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1932
Lloyd, Mrs. Magdalen		1930
Lobzowsky, Dr. G. E.	39 Peking Road, Shanghai	1932
Lockwood, W. W.	c/o Y.M.C.A., 20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1913
Logan, Col. M. H., M.C., O.B.E.	Messrs. Palmer & Turner, Shanghai	1931
Lord, Rev. R. D.	c/o S.P.G., 15 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W., England	1918

Name	Address	Year of Election
Low, Dr. C. W.	China United Assee. Society, Shanghai	1932
Lucas, S. E.	Chartered Bank, 33 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.	1906
*Luthy, Charles	C. Luthy & Co., 22 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1910
*Luthy, Emil	House 2, Lane 70, Hart Road, Shanghai.	1917
*Ly, Dr. J. Usang	Chiao Tung University, Shanghai	1932
*Lyall, Leonard A.	Manor Farm, Piddington, Thame, Oxon, England	1892
Lyon, Rev. D. Willard, D.D. . . .	Y.M.C.A., 38 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1927
Ma, Dr. Y. C.	1954 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1933
Mabee, Fred C.		1912
Macbeth, Miss A.	Court 32, House 9, Edinburgh Road, Shanghai	1915
McDonald, Randal G.	203 to 206 Missions Bldg., Shanghai..	1930
*MacNair, H. F., Ph.D.	University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.	1920
Macoun, J. H.	Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1894
Madsen, W.	c/o P. O. Box No. 1936, 39 Peking Road, Shanghai	1932
Maginnis, A. F. L.	China Navigation Co., c/o Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1932
Magle, Hans	Allegade 55, Odeuse, Denmark	1932
Maher, Joseph	296 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai . . .	1930
Main, Dr. Duncan	2 West Coates, Edinburgh, Scotland . .	1900
Maitland, H.	Room 303, Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1920
*Mamet, O.	10 Avenue Elisabeth, Terveuren, Belgium	1922
March, B. F., Jr.	The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.	1924
Marsh, Dr. E. L.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building Shanghai	1908
Marshall, R. Calder	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1903
Martilliere, Dr.	Sassoon Building, Shanghai	1930
Martin, Hugh	Noel Murray & Co., Shanghai	1932
Martin, Mrs. W. A.	Bridge House, Nanking	1916
Martinella, A.	8 Italian Bund, Tientsin	1921
Mather, Wm. A.	American Presby. Mission, Paotingfu	1926
Mathieson, Rev. J. C.	Canadian Mission, Hwei King, Ho. . .	1929
Maxwell, Dr. J. L.	Lester Research Laboratory, Shanghai . .	1931
Maxwell, Dr. J. Preston	P.U.M.C., Peiping, Chi.	1917
Mayers, Sidney F.	The British and Chinese Corporation, Ltd., 3 Lombard Street, London, E.C. 3, England	1907
McCabe, P. J.		1922
McDaniel, C. Yates	Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury, Shanghai	1930
McEuen, K. J.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Nagasaki, Japan	1908

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Name	Address	Year of Election
McGillivray, Mrs. D., C.L.S.	19 Museum Road, Shanghai	1933
McIntosh, Miss E. W.		1923
McLean, W. A.	The Washington National Bank, 2808 North Cedar, Tacoma, Wash., U.S.A.	1925
McLaughlin, W. H.	Lutheran Bookstore, Hankow	1931
*McMillen, O. W.	Pui Ying Middle School, Canton	1923
McNeely, Miss M. V.	Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 140 Peking Road, Shanghai	1923
McNulty, Rev. Henry A.	American Church Mission, Soochow	1918
McRae, J. D.		1910
Mead, E. W.	University, Manchester, England	1916
Meinhardt, Mrs. C. D.	U.S. Consulate General Shanghai	1923
*Meister, O., C.E., M.E.	c/o Sulzer Bros., 4 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1922
*Melnikoff, D. M.	18 Panoff Flats, Hankow	1919
Mencarini, J.	c/o P.O. Box 795, Manila, P.I.	1884
Brown, Rev. Mendel	Shanghai Jewish School, Shanghai	1933
*Mendelsen, Major Joseph A., M.C.	Station Hospital, Fort Francis E. Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming, U.S.A.	1933
Meng, C. Y. W.	c/o Ministry of Industry, Nanking	1925
Mennie, D.	A. S. Watson & Co., Shanghai	1916
Menzies, Rev. J. M.	Chinese Research Institute, Shantung Christian University, Tsinan, Shantung	1914
*Merian, J.	15 Friedensgasse, Basil, Switzerland	1921
*Meyer, H. Fuge	Strandboulevarden 6, Copenhagen, Denmark	1920
Middleton, W. B. O.	Middleton & Co., Shanghai	1930
Millington, F. C.	Millington, Ltd., 13 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1932
Mironoff, Prof. N. D.	17 Yurimachi, Hoshigaura, Dairen	1924
Miskin, Stanley C.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai	1913
Mitchell, T. E.	General Accident, Fire & Life Assurance Corp., 5 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1926
Mogabgab, A.	Saydah & Saydah, 74 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Mohrbacher, Rev. Father C. M.	Catholic Mission, Taikai Chuan, near Tsining, Shantung	1930
*Moneriff, J. E.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen	1927
Moninger, Miss M. M.	Hoihow, Tung	1916
*Moore, Dr. A.		1913
*Morriss, Harry	118 Rue Père Robert, Shanghai	1932
Morris, Dr. H. H.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1909
*Morse, C. J.	1825 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois	1919
*Morse W. R., M.D., F.R.G.S.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen	1930
*Morgan, Rev. Evan, D.D.	C.L.S., 19 Museum Road, Shanghai	1901
Mortensen, Rev. Ralph	23 Liang Yi Street, Hankow	1920
Moses, Mrs. A. E.	422 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1931
Mossop, A. G.	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1925
Moule, Rev. A. C., M.A.	Trumpington Vicarage, Cambridge, England	1902

Name	Address	Year of Election
Munro-Faure, P. H.	c/o A. P. C., Kiukiang	1921
Münter, L. S.	c/o "Rödbjerghavn" per HUMBLE, Langeland, Denmark	1910
*Munthe, Mrs.	43 Hsiao Tien Shui Ching Hutung, Peiping	1921
Murphy, H. K., A.I.A.	212 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Murray, C. P.		1930
Musso, G. D.	German Bank Bldg., 71 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Nakayama, Shozen	Tambaichi-machi, Nara Prefect., Japan	1931
Nance, Prof. W. B.	Soochow University, Soochow	1922
Nash, E. T.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai	1929
Nathan, Major W. S.	Peking Syndicate, Shanghai	1932
Neild, Dr. F. M.	Shanghai	1916
Nethery, Dr. Wm. M.,	Shanghai Sanitarium & Hospital, 150 Rubicon Road, Shanghai	1933
Newman, A. L.	Ch. Customs Service, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1933
Newman, Kenneth	59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1921
*Nielsen, Albert	c/o Dr. Jack Nielsen, Maridalsveren 3, Oslo, Norway	1894
Norman, H. C.	c/o Miss Norman, 23 Queen's Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England	1912
Norman, W. von	Ekman Foreign Agencies, 115 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1932
Norton, J. R.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1923
Nystrom, E. T.	Shansi University, Taiyuanfu	1920
*Oakes, W. L.	c/o W. M. M. S., 24 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2	1919
*O'Brien-Butler, P. E.	c/o "Bansha," Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C.I.	1886
Odaki, F.	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1930
Oliver, A. W. L.	c/o Custom House, Shanghai	1924
Olsen, F. A.	Confederation Life Ass'n., 3 Canton Road, Shanghai	1932
*Oriental Study Expedition	Pomona College, 120 Sumner Hall, Claremont, Cal., U.S.A.	1930
*Othmer, Prof. Dr. W.	Tung Chi University, Woosung	1924
Ouskouli, M. H. A.	451 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1927
Owens, A. C.	Wen Hwei Boys School, Am. Presby. Mission, Tengchow, Sung	1929
*Paddock, Rev. B. H.	28 Cernelia Ave., Mill Valley, Cal., U.S.A.	1916
Pade, K. F.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1920
Pagh, E. K.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1908
Pain, J. C.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Hankow	1932

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Name	Address	Year of Election
*Palmer, W. M.	c/o Mr. F. H. Palmer, Plattsburg, New York, U.S.A.	1914
Papp, E.	Intelligence Office, Police Headquarters, S.M.C., Shanghai	1929
Parsons, E. E.	259 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1916
*Paterson, J. J.	Jardine, Matheson & Co., Hongkong	1922
Patrick, Dr. H. C.	22 Whangpoo Road, Shanghai	1912
*Patton, Rev. C. E., M.A.	Room 519, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Pearson, C. Dearne	484 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1908
Peek, Sh.	Shanghai Insurance Office, Shanghai	1933
Peffer, Nathaniel		1918
*Peiyang University Librarian	Tientsin	1911
Penfold, F. G.	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1916
Pennett, C. W.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai	1932
Perkins, M. F.	c/o Dept. of State, Consular Bureau, Washington D.C.	1914
Perry, Harold G.	Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1932
Petermann, Dr. B.	Tungchi University, Woosung	1928
Petersen, I. C. V.	2 Hsi Tang Tse Hu Tung, Peiping	1906
*Peterson, R. A., M.A.	1914 Commerce Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind., U.S.A.	1924
*Pettus, W. B.	College of Chinese Studies, Peiping	1915
*Phelps, D. L., Ph. D.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan	1929
Pickens, Rev. C. L.	American Church Mission, Hankow	1931
Plews, Mrs. J. C.		1929
*Plumer, James M.	Ch. M. Customs, Indoor, Tientsin	1931
Poate, F. W.	Mackenzie & Co., Shanghai	1928
Polevoy, S. A.	4A Hsi Ch'iao Hutung, Peiping	1917
Pollard, Robert T., M.A.	801 E. River Road, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.	1924
Porter, Harold, C.M.G.	Peiping Syndicate, Ltd., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1930
Porter, Prof. Lucius C.	Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Porterfield, W. M.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1920
Pott, Mrs. F. L. Hawks	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Poullain, H. V.	Directorate-General of Posts, Shanghai	1933
Pousty, F. E.	Ningpo	1915
Powell, J. B.	The China Weekly Review, 38 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1918
Pratt, J. T., C.M.G.	Foreign Office, London	1909
Price, Dr. M. T.	c/o Prof. Leslie Hanawalt, 490 Robinwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.	1925
Price, W. D. M.	6 Soochow Road, Shanghai	1931
Prideaux-Brune, H. I.	British Legation, Peiping	1914
Prip-Möller, J.	College of Chinese Studies, T'ou T'iao Hutung, Tung Ssu Pailou, Peiping	1929
Public Library, The	Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1924
Puckle, Raymond D. A.	c/o Hotel Plaza, Shanghai	1932

LIST OF MEMBERS

Name	Address	Year of Election
Raeburn, P. D.	Lane 611, House 7, Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1916
Ramondino, F.	Italian Consulate, Shanghai	1922
Raven, F. J.	Raven Trust Co., Shanghai	1933
Raven, Mrs. F. J.	Raven Trust Co., Shanghai	1933
*Rea, Geo. Bronson	The Far Eastern Review, Shanghai	1931
Read, Dr. Bernard E.	Henry Lester Institute, Shanghai	1933
Reis, E. O.	38 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2.	1926
Reiss, Dr. F.	Room 64, 21 Museum Road, Shanghai	1923
Ritchie, W. W.	Directorate General of Posts, Shanghai	1907
Robert, A.	Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 6 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1930
*Roberts, Prof. D.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1916
Roberts, I. E.	Thomson & Co., C. A., Shanghai	1932
Robertson, E. S.	11 Manorcrofts Road, Egham, Surrey, England	1932
Robertson, J.	New York Times Office, Embankment Bldg., Shanghai	1933
Robertson, Dr. R. C.	Henry Lester Inst., Shanghai	1933
Rogers, J. M.	506 E. Lafayette St., Dothan, Ala., U.S.A.	1924
Roots, Rt. Rev. L. H.	American Church Mission, Hankow	1916
*Ros, Cav. G.	Italian Consulate, Shanghai	1931
Roulston, Rev. W. A.	Siu Wu, Honan	1931
Rowe, E. S. Benbow	c/o Lady Barrow, The Grove, West Molesey, London	1907
Ruffé, M. D'Auxion de	41 Rue du Consulat, Shanghai	1930
Sabelstrom, G. B.	Union Brewery, Shanghai	1932
*Saeki, Dr. P. Y.	164 Nishi Okubo, 3 Chome, Yodobashi Ku, Tokyo, Japan	1931
Sakamoto, Prof. Y.	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1927
Sandor, H.	Asia Realty Co., Shanghai	1922
*Sarkar, Prof. B. K.	c/o Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 2431, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	1915
Sawdon, E. W.	Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham	1916
Sawyer, J. B.	U. S. Consulate-General, Shanghai	1920
Schneider, Mrs.		1930
*Schoch, E.	Messrs. A. Boer & Co., 17 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Schuurman, T. E.	Netherlands Consulate-General, Shanghai	1930
Schwarzl, M. G.		1929
Schwyzer, F.	French Municipal Council, Shanghai	1932
*Scott, W.	Pomona College, 120 Sumner Hall, Claremont, Cal., U.S.A.	1930
*Secker, F.	c/o Hotel du Nord, Peiping	1930
*Senger, Miss Nettie M.	Chinchow, Shansi	1923
Service, R. Roy	20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1924
Shahmoon, Ezra	Room 122, 2A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1931

LIST OF MEMBERS

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Shanghai American School, Principal	10 Avenue Petain, Shanghai.. . . .	1929
Shantung Christian University .. .	Tsinan, Shantung	1922
*Shaw, Norman	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1912
Shen, Wesley		1930
Sheppard, Rev. G. W.	British & Foreign Bible Society, S'hai	1923
Shioya, T.	Bank of Chosen, 3 Kiukiang Road,	1922
Shirokogoroff, S. M.	Tsing Hua College, Peiping.. . . .	1923
Shu, Dr. H. J.	20 Rue de Paris, Hankow	1921
Siegel, H. W.	Kunst & Albers, Hankow	1932
Silsby, Rev. J. A.		1911
*Sirén, Prof. O.	National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden	1922
Six, Rev. Ray L.	318 Rich St., Mornan, Oklahoma, U.S.A.	1924
Skinner, Dr. A. H.	Hankow	1919
Skvortzow, B. W.		1918
Smith, Ernest K.	Dept. of English, Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Smith, J. Langford		1908
Sokolosky, Geo. E.	302 West 12th Street, New York, U.S.A.	1924
Soothill, Prof. W. E.	4 Bradmore Road, Oxford, England ..	1927
*South Manchuria Railway Co. Library	Dairen	1910
Southcott, Mrs. V. C.	c/o Banca Commerciale Italiano, Flo- rence, Italy	1919
Sorge, Dr. Richard	Post Box 1062, Shanghai	1930
Sowerby, Arthur de C., F.Z.S. .. .	The China Journal, 6 Museum Road, Shanghai	1923
Sparke, C. E.	Excess Insurance Co., S'hangnai .. .	1932
Spencer, Joseph E.	Hankow Auditorate, Government Salt Revenue, Hankow	1932
Spiker, Clarence J.	American Legation, Peiping	1918
Stanford University Library .. .	Stanford University, California, U.S.A.	1922
*Stedeford, Dr. E. T. A.	Wenchow, China.. . . .	1919
*Stewart, Rev. J. L.	St. Andrew's College, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada	1916
Stockton, G. C.	600 Rue Frelupt, Shanghai	1914
Stone, Mrs. E. S.		1928
Strehlneek, E. A.	Strehlneek's Gallery of Chinese Arts, 26 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1909
Struthers, John	China United Apts., Shanghai	1930
Stursberg, W. A.		1919
*Suga, Capt. T.	N. K. K., Tokyo, Japan	1919
Sun, Mrs. J. H.	House No. 1, 333 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1930
Sung, William Z. L.	St. John's University, Shanghai .. .	1933
Swan, Mrs. A. H.	397 S. Fraser Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.	1928
Swann, R. N.	17 The Bund, Shanghai	1926
*Swenson, Rev. Herman	Salem Evangelical Free Church, Ku Yuen, Kansu	1931

Name	Address	Year of Election
Tachibana, M.	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1881
Tarby, H.	Butterfield & Swire, Pootung	1931
Tarby, Mrs. H.	Butterfield & Swire, Pootung	1931
Talbot, R. M.	Customs House, Changsha	1915
*Taylor, C. H. Brewitt	Cathay, Earlsferry, Scotland	1885
Teesdale, J. H.	c/o Thatched House Club, London	1916
Temasi, Dr. G. de		1929
Thomas, Ivor	882 Dunsmuir Road, Victoria, B.C., Canada	1924
Thomas, J. A.	North Street, White Plains N. Y., U.S.A.	1930
Thomas, J. A. T.	c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai	1890
Thompson, A. B.	c/o J. D. Hutchison & Co., Shanghai	1923
Throop, M. H.	St. John's University, Jessfield, S'hai.	1912
Timpsley, H. J.	32 Ch'un Shu Hutung, Peiping	1931
Ting I-hsien	L. 580 Canton Road, Shanghai	1902
Toller, W. Stark	c/o Foreign Office, London, S. W., England	1907
*Tochtermann, Karl	Schulstrasse 5, Bad Harzburg Bundheim, Germany	1900
*Torrance, Rev. Thos.	American Bible Society, Chengtu, Sze.	1922
Trivett, Very Rev. Dean, M.A., D.D.	The Deanery, Shanghai	1932
Tsen, Dr. D. C.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Tucker, G. E.	1A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Tucker, Mrs. G. E.	1A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Uchida, Naosaku	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1933
Ungern-Sternberg, Baroness L. von	c/o Siemens (China) Co., Shanghai	1924
Unwin, F. S.	The Angela, Victoria, B. C., Canada	1914
Van Corback, T. B.	367 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1913
Vanderburgh, R. M.	Realty Investment Co., 56 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1927
Vandervort, Charles T.	Menlo Junior College, Menlo Park, California, U.S.A.	1930
Veryard, Robert K.	Y.M.C.A., Changsha	1917
*Vizeninovitch, Mrs. V.		1914
*Vogel, Dr. Jur. Werner	Room 425, 19 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1930
*Volpicelli, Comdr. Z.		1886
Wade, R. H. R.	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1918
Wagstaff, W. W.	118 Great Western Road, Shanghai	1922
Walk, Dr. Anton	Salt Revenue, 18 The Bund, Shanghai	1933
Walker, Mrs. M. P.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1931
Walker, Miss R.	St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai	1929
Walker, W. J. D.	Physics. Dept., Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo., U.S.A.	1930

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Waller, A. J.	Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai	1916
*Wang, Dr. C. T.	90 Route Amiral Courbet, Shanghai . .	1933
Wang, Chung-Yu	63 Szeming St., S.D.A., Hankow . . .	1924
Ward, H. Lipson	Platt & Co., 83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1923
*Warner, Mrs. G. B.	Oregon Museum of Fine Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, U.S.A.	1925
*Washbrook, H. G.	14 Princes Park Avenue, Golders Green, London, N.W. 11	1908
*Watson, P. T.	Fenchow Hospital, A. B. M., Fenchow, Shansi	1920
Watson, R. A. C.	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai	1930
Way, W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai..	1931
Way, Mrs. W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai..	1931
Webb, Dr. H. W.		1928
Webster, Rev. James	Mayfield House, Melbourne, Derby, England	1911
Wei, Lott H. T.	The Central Mint, Gordon Road (North End), Shanghai	1931
Welch, A. J.	J. A. Wattie & Co., 10 Canton Road, Shanghai	1933
Welch, Bishop Herbert	Room 615 Missions Bldg., Shanghai . .	1933
Wernay, Mrs. Lucia	P.O. Box No. 1759, Shanghai	1929
Wernay, E. T. C.	3 Hsiao Ch'un-shu Hutung, Peiping . .	1915
Westbrook, Dr. C. H., M.A., PH.D. . .	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1930
White, Rev. F. J., D.D.	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1933
White, Dr. Hugh H.	Yencheng, Ku.	1923
White, Miss Laura M.	Christian Literature Society, Shanghai	1916
*White, Rt. Rev. Wm. C.	Bishop of Honan, Kaifengfu	1913
Whittemore, N. C.	Room 27, Christian Literature Bldg., Shoro, Seoul, Chosen	1930
Whyte, Sir Frederick, K.C.S.I. . . .		1930
Whyte, Lady		1930
Wickes, Dr. Dean R.	American Board Mission, Lintsing.	1924
Widler, Emile	c/o P.O. Box No. 1168, Shanghai . . .	1923
*Wilbur, Mrs. H. A.	c/o Y.M.C.A., Outside West Gate, Seoul, Chosen	1920
Wilden, H. A.	French Legation, Peiping	1917
Wilden, Dr. Geo. D.	American Board Mission, Tehchow, Shantung	1924
Wiley, J. Hundley, M.A., PH.D. . . .	University of Shanghai, Shanghai . .	1933
*Wilhelm, P.	House No. 4, Lane 70, Hart Road, Shanghai	1924
Wilkinson, E. S.	2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1911
Wilkinson, H. P., K.C., B.C.L. . . .	Tobermore, Co. Derry, Northern Ireland.	1909
*Williams, C. A. S.	C. M. Customs, Peiping	1919
Williams, Dr. J. T.	Room 704, 29 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1925
Wilson, G. L., F.S.I.	Palmer & Turner, Shanghai	1921
Winter, F. B.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1930
Winter, R. S.	S.M.C. Secretariat, Shanghai	

LIST OF MEMBERS

Name	Address	Year of Election
Wissmann, Prof. Dr. von	Central University, Nanking	1932
Wong, Y. W.,	Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai	1927
Wood, A. G.	Gibb, Livingston & Co., Shanghai	1919
Wood, Mrs. Edwin	25 Kiaochow Road, Shanghai	1921
*Woodward, A. M. Tracey, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S., F.R.P.S.L.	Chateau Millefleurs, Cadaujac, Gironde, France	1921
*Wright, S. F.	Inspectorate General of Customs, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1921
Wu, John C.	c/o The Comparative Law School of China, 103 Quinsan Road, Shanghai	1930
*Wu Lien-teh, Dr.	National Quarantine Service, Room 418, Glen Bldg., Shanghai	1916
Yamada, Kenkichi	Tungwen College, Shanghai	1932
Yankofsky, George	Sei Shin, Chosen	1932
*Yetts, W. Perceval, O.B.E.	4 Aubrey Road, Campden Hill, London, W. 8	1909
Young, R. C.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1912
Young, S. C.	Police Station, Gordon Road, Shanghai	1928
Zia, Rev. Z. K.	Christian Literature Society, Shanghai	1931
*Zih Dzu Sing	Chartered Bank, Shanghai	1932
*Zwemer, Rev. Samuel M., D.D.	The Theological Seminary, 48 Mercer Street, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1917

TOTALS:

CLASSIFIED AS:—

Honorary Members	13	Residing in Shanghai	326
Corresponding Members	1	Residing elsewhere in China	123
Life Members	142	Residing in other countries	176
Ordinary Members	539	Address unknown	70

Total .. 695

Total .. 695

List 1932	608	Resignations	18
New Members	109	Deaths	4

Total .. 717

Total .. 22

717

22

Present Membership 695

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Lamansky, V. V.	Bearn Apts. 94, Shanghai	1932
Lambelet, A. R. A.	100 Route de Say Zoong, Shanghai	1933
Lambert, Henri	Banque Belge pour l'Etranger, 6 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1929
Lamson, H. D.	Dept. of Sociology, Shanghai University, Shanghai	1932
Lang, Robert	1427 Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1924
*Lauderdale, T.	c/o National City Coy., Shanghai	1932
Lanning, V. H.	c/o S'hai Exchange Brokers' Ass'n., Shanghai	1916
*Latourette, Prof. K. S.	The Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.	1912
*Laufer, Dr. Berthold	Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago	1901
Laurenz, Mrs. Rudolf	658 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1932
*Laver, Capt. H. E.	Head Street, Colchester, Essex	1912
*Leavens, D. H.	Harvard Business School, Soldiers Field Station, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.	1917
*Leavenworth, Chas. S.	79 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. U.S.A.	1901
Lechler, J. H., M.D.	C.M.S., Mienchuhsien, Sze	1929
Lee, William Yinson	Sun Life Ins. Co., Shanghai	1933
Leete, Rev. Wm.	The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.	1918
Lefever, R. H.	Seneca Castle, N.Y., U.S.A.	1924
Lenhart, Miss L. E.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1923
*Leslie, T.	Elmers Glen, Salfords, Horley, Surrey, England	1914
Lester, Miss E. S.	2807 Conn. Ave., Apt. 305, Washington, D. C., U.S.A.	1919
Lewis, J.	S.M.C. Health Dept., Shanghai	1932
Lim Boon Kong, Dr.	University of Amoy, Amoy	1930
*Li Ming	Chekiang Industrial Bank, Shanghai	1932
Li Ting An, Dr.	Commissioner of Health, Greater Shanghai Municipality, Nantao	1933
Lieu, Dr. D. K.	6 Hsin Yeh Lee, Avenue Joffre, Shanghai	1933
Linde, Mrs. A. M. de		1922
*Lindsay, Dr. Ashley W.	West China Union University, College of Medicine and Dentistry, Chengtu	1930
Ling, C. P.	China Commercial Adv. Agency, 2 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1932
*Little, Edward S.	Keri Keri, New Zealand	1910
Little, L. K.	21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1931
Liu, Dr. Herman C. E.	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1932
Lloyd, Mrs. Magdalen		1930
Lobzowsky, Dr. G. E.	39 Peking Road, Shanghai	1932
Lockwood, W. W.	c/o Y.M.C.A., 20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1913
Logan, Col. M. H., M.C., O.B.E.	Messrs. Palmer & Turner, Shanghai	1931
Lord, Rev. R. D.	c/o S.P.G., 15 Tufton Street, Westminster, S.W., England	1918

Name	Address	Year of Election
Low, Dr. C. W.	China United Assee. Society, Shanghai	1932
Lucas, S. E.	Chartered Bank, 38 Bishopsgate, London, E.C.	1906
*Luthy, Charles	C. Luthy & Co., 22 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1910
*Luthy, Emil	House 2, Lane 70, Hart Road, Shanghai.	1917
*Ly, Dr. J. Usang	Chiao Tung University, Shanghai . . .	1932
*Lyall, Leonard A.	Manor Farm, Piddington, Thame, Oxon, England	1892
Lyon, Rev. D. Willard, D.D. . . .	Y.M.C.A., 38 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai	1927
Ma, Dr. Y. C.	1954 Avenue Haig, Shanghai . . .	1933
Mabee, Fred C.		1912
Macbeth, Miss A.	Court 32, House 9, Edinburgh Road, Shanghai	1915
McDonald, Randal G.	203 to 206 Missions Bldg., Shanghai..	1930
*MacNair, H. F., Ph.D.	University of Chicago, Chicago, U.S.A.	1920
Macoun, J. H.	Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1894
Madsen, W.	c/o P. O. Box No. 1936, 39 Peking Road, Shanghai	1932
Maginnis, A. F. L.	China Navigation Co., c/o Butterfield & Swire, Shanghai	1932
Magle, Hans	Allegade 55, Odeuse, Denmark . . .	1932
Maher, Joseph	296 Bubbling Well Road, Shanghai . .	1930
Main, Dr. Duncan	2 West Coates, Edinburgh, Scotland .	1900
Maitland, H.	Room 303, Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1929
*Mamet, O.	10 Avenue Elisabeth, Terveuren, Belgium	1922
March, B. F., Jr.	The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.	1924
*Marsh, Dr. E. L.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1903
Marshall, R. Calder	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1903
Martilliere, Dr.	Sassoon Building, Shanghai	1930
Martin, Hugh	Noel Murray & Co., Shanghai . . .	1932
Martin, Mrs. W. A.	Bridge House, Nanking	1916
Martinella, A.	8 Italian Bund, Tientsin	1921
Mather, Wm. A.	American Presby. Mission, Paotingfu	1926
Mathieson, Rev. J. C.	Canadian Mission, Hwei King, Ho. . .	1929
Maxwell, Dr. J. L.	Lester Research Laboratory, Shanghai .	1931
Maxwell, Dr. J. Preston	P.U.M.C., Peiping, Chi.	1917
Mayers, Sidney F.	The British and Chinese Corporation, Ltd., 3 Lombard Street, London, E.C. 3, England	1907
McCabe, P. J.		1922
McDaniel, C. Yates	Shanghai Evening Post & Mercury, Shanghai	1930
McEuen, K. J.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Nagasaki, Japan	1903

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Name	Address	Year of Election
McGillivray, Mrs. D., C.L.S.	19 Museum Road, Shanghai	1933
McIntosh, Miss E. W.		1923
McLean, W. A.	The Washington National Bank, 2808 North Cedar, Tacoma, Wash., U.S.A.	1925
McLaughlin, W. H.	Lutheran Bookstore, Hankow	1931
*McMillen, O. W.	Pui Ying Middle School, Canton	1923
McNeely, Miss M. V.	Kwang Hsueh Publishing House, 140 Peking Road, Shanghai	1923
McNulty, Rev. Henry A.	American Church Mission, Soochow	1918
McRae, J. D.		1910
Mead, E. W.	University, Manchester, England	1916
Meinhardt, Mrs. C. D.	U.S. Consulate General Shanghai	1923
*Meister, O., C.E., M.E.	c/o Sulzer Bros., 4 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1922
*Melnikoff, D. M.	18 Panoff Flats, Hankow	1919
Mencarini, J.	c/o P.O. Box 795, Manila, P.I.	1884
Brown, Rev. Mendel	Shanghai Jewish School, Shanghai	1933
*Mendelsen, Major Joseph A., M.C.	Station Hospital, Fort Francis E. Warren, Cheyenne, Wyoming, U.S.A.	1933
Meng, C. Y. W.	c/o Ministry of Industry, Nanking	1925
Mennie, D.	A. S. Watson & Co., Shanghai	1916
Menzies, Rev. J. M.	Chinese Research Institute, Shantung Christian University, Tsinan, Shan- tung	1914
*Merian, J.	15 Friedensgasse, Basil, Switzerland	1921
*Meyer, H. Fuge	Strandboulevarden 6, Copenhagen, Denmark	1923
Middleton, W. B. O.	Middleton & Co., Shanghai	1930
Millington, F. C.	Millington, Ltd., 13 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1932
Mironoff, Prof. N. D.	17 Yurimachi, Hoshigaura, Dairen	1924
Miskin, Stanley C.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Shanghai	1913
Mitchell, T. E.	General Accident, Fire & Life Assurance Corp., 5 Hongkong Road, Shanghai	1926
Mogabgab, A.	Saydah & Saydah, 74 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Mohrbacher, Rev. Father C. M.	Catholic Mission, Taikai Chuan, near Tsining, Shantung	1930
*Moncrieff, J. E.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen	1927
Moninger, Miss M. M.	Hoihow, Tung	1916
*Moore, Dr. A.		1913
*Morris, Harry	118 Rue Père Robert, Shanghai	1932
Morris, Dr. H. H.	St. Luke's Hospital, Shanghai	1909
*Morse, C. J.	1825 Asbury Avenue, Evanston, Illinois	1919
*Morse W. R., M.D., F.R.G.S.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuen	1930
*Morgan, Rev. Evan, D.D.	C.L.S., 19 Museum Road, Shanghai	1901
Mortensen, Rev. Ralph	23 Liang Yi Street, Hankow	1920
Moses, Mrs. A. E.	422 Avenue Haig, Shanghai	1931
Mossop, A. G.	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1925
Moule, Rev. A. C., M.A.	Trumpington Vicarage, Cambridge, England	1902

Name	Address	Year of Election
Munro-Faure, P. H.	c/o A. P. C., Kiukiang	1921
Münter, L. S.	c/o "Rödbjerghavn" per HUMBLE, Langeland, Denmark	1910
*Munthe, Mrs.	43 Hsiao Tien Shui Ching Hutung, Peiping	1921
Murphy, H. K., A.I.A.	212 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1932
Murray, C. P.		1930
Musso, G. D.	German Bank Bldg., 71 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Nakayama, Shozen	Tambaichi-machi, Nara Prefect., Japan	1931
Nance, Prof. W. B.	Soochow University, Soochow	1922
Nash, E. T.	The Secretariat, S.M.C., Shanghai	1929
Nathan, Major W. S.	Peking Syndicate, Shanghai	1932
Neild, Dr. F. M.	Shanghai	1916
Nethery, Dr. Wm. M.,	Shanghai Sanitarium & Hospital, 150 Rubicon Road, Shanghai	1933
Newman, A. L.	Ch. Customs Service, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1933
Newman, Kenneth	59 Peking Road, Shanghai	1921
*Nielsen, Albert	c/o Dr. Jack Nielsen, Maridalsverven 3, Oslo, Norway	1894
Norman, H. C.	c/o Miss Norman, 23 Queen's Road, Tunbridge Wells, Kent, England	1912
Norman, W. von	Ekman Foreign Agencies, 115 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1932
Norton, J. R.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1928
Nystrom, E. T.	Shansi University, Taiyuanfu	1920
*Oakes, W. L.	c/o W. M. M. S., 24 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2	1919
*O'Brien-Butler, P. E.	c/o "Bansha," Plat Douet Road, Jersey, C.I.	1886
Odaki, F.	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1930
Oliver, A. W. L.	c/o Custom House, Shanghai	1924
Olsen, F. A.	Confederation Life Ass'n., 3 Canton Road, Shanghai	1932
*Oriental Study Expedition	Pomona College, 120 Sumner Hall, Claremont, Cal., U.S.A.	1930
*Othmer, Prof. Dr. W.	Tung Chi University, Woosung	1924
Ouskouli, M. H. A.	451 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1927
Owens, A. C.	Wen Hwei Boys School, Am. Presby. Mission, Tengechow, Sung	1929
*Paddock, Rev. B. H.	28 Cernelia Ave., Mill Valley, Cal., U.S.A.	1916
Pade, K. F.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1920
Pagh, E. K.	G. N. Telegraph Co., Shanghai	1908
Pain, J. C.	Asiatic Petroleum Co., Hankow	1932

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Name	Address	Year of Election
*Palmer, W. M.	c/o Mr. F. H. Palmer, Plattsburg, New York, U.S.A.	1914
Papp, E.	Intelligence Office, Police Headquarters, S.M.C., Shanghai	1929
Parsons, E. E.	259 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1916
*Paterson, J. J.	Jardine, Matheson & Co., Hongkong	1922
Patrick, Dr. H. C.	22 Whangpoo Road, Shanghai	1912
*Patton, Rev. C. E., M.A.	Room 519, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Pearson, C. Dearne	484 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1908
Peek, Sh.	Shanghai Insurance Office, Shanghai	1933
Peffer, Nathaniel		1918
*Peiyang University Librarian	Tientsin	1911
Penfold, F. G.	2 Peking Road, Shanghai	1916
Pennett, C. W.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai	1932
Perkins, M. F.	c/o Dept. of State, Consular Bureau, Washington D.C.	1914
Perry, Harold G.	Vacuum Co., Shanghai	1932
Petermann, Dr. B.	Tungchi University, Woosung	1928
Petersen, I. C. V.	2 Hsi Tang Tse Hu Tung, Peiping	1906
*Peterson, R. A., M.A.	1914 Commerce Avenue, Indianapolis, Ind., U.S.A.	1924
*Pettus, W. B.	College of Chinese Studies, Peiping	1915
*Phelps, D. L., Ph. D.	West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan	1929
Pickens, Rev. C. L.	American Church Mission, Hankow	1931
Plews, Mrs. J. C.		1929
*Plumer, James M.	Ch. M. Customs, Indoor, Tientsin	1931
Poate, F. W.	Mackenzie & Co., Shanghai	1928
Polevoy, S. A.	4A Hsi Ch'iao Hutung, Peiping	1917
Pollard, Robert T., M.A.	801 E. River Road, Minneapolis, Minn., U.S.A.	1924
Porter, Harold, C.M.G.	Peiping Syndicate, Ltd., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Building, Shanghai	1930
Porter, Prof. Lucius C.	Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Porterfield, W. M.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1920
Pott, Mrs. F. L. Hawks	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Poullain, H. V.	Directorate-General of Posts, Shanghai	1933
Pousty, F. E.	Ningpo	1915
Powell, J. B.	The China Weekly Review, 38 Avenue Edward VII, Shanghai	1918
Pratt, J. T., C.M.G.	Foreign Office, London	1909
Price, Dr. M. T.	c/o Prof. Leslie Hanawalt, 490 Robinwood Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A.	1925
Price, W. D. M.	6 Soochow Road, Shanghai	1931
Prideaux-Brune, H. I.	British Legation, Peiping	1914
Prip-Möller, J.	College of Chinese Studies, T'ou T'iao Hutung, Tung Ssu Pailou, Peiping	1929
Public Library, The	Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1924
Puckle, Raymond D. A.	c/o Hotel Plaza, Shanghai	1932

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Name	Address	Year of Election
Raeburn, P. D.	Lane 611, House 7, Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1916
Ramondino, F.	Italian Consulate, Shanghai	1922
Raven, F. J.	Raven Trust Co., Shanghai	1933
Raven, Mrs. F. J.	Raven Trust Co., Shanghai	1933
*Rea, Geo. Bronson	The Far Eastern Review, Shanghai	1931
Read, Dr. Bernard E.	Henry Lester Institute, Shanghai	1933
Reis, E. O.	38 Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2.	1926
Reiss, Dr. F.	Room 64, 21 Museum Road, Shanghai	1923
Ritchie, W. W.	Directorate General of Posts, Shanghai	1907
Robert, A.	Société Belge de Chemins de fer en Chine, 6 Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1930
*Roberts, Prof. D.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1916
Roberts, I. E.	Thomson & Co., C. A., Shanghai	1932
Robertson, E. S.	11 Manorcrofts Road, Egham, Surrey, England	1932
Robertson, J.	New York Times Office, Embankment Bldg., Shanghai	1933
Robertson, Dr. R. C.	Henry Lester Inst., Shanghai	1933
Rogers, J. M.	506 E. Lafayette St., Dothan, Ala., U.S.A.	1924
Roots, Rt. Rev. L. H.	American Church Mission, Hankow	1916
*Ros, Cav. G.	Italian Consulate, Shanghai	1931
Roulston, Rev. W. A.	Siu Wu, Honan	1931
Rowe, E. S. Benbow	c/o Lady Barrow, The Grove, West Molesey, London	1907
Ruffé, M. D'Auxion de	41 Rue du Consulat, Shanghai	1930
Sabelstrom, G. B.	Union Brewery, Shanghai	1932
*Saeki, Dr. P. Y.	164 Nishi Okubo, 3 Chome, Yodobashi Ku, Tokyo, Japan	1931
Sakamoto, Prof. Y.	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1927
Sandor, H.	Asia Realty Co., Shanghai	1922
*Sarkar, Prof. B. K.	c/o Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, 2431, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.	1915
Sawdon, E. W.	Kingsmead, Selly Oak, Birmingham	1916
Sawyer, J. B.	U. S. Consulate-General, Shanghai	1920
Schneider, Mrs.		1930
*Schoch, E.	Messrs. A. Boer & Co., 17 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1924
Schuurman, T. E.	Netherlands Consulate-General, Shanghai	1930
Schwarzl, M. G.		1929
Schwyzler, F.	French Municipal Council, Shanghai	1932
*Scott, W.	Pomona College, 120 Sumner Hall, Claremont, Cal., U.S.A.	1930
*Secker, F.	c/o Hotel du Nord, Peiping	1930
*Senger, Miss Nettie M.	Chinchow, Shansi	1923
Service, R. Roy	20 Museum Road, Shanghai	1924
Shahmoon, Ezra	Room 122, 2A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1931

Name	Address	Year of Election
Shanghai American School, Principal	10 Avenue Petain, Shanghai.. . . .	1929
Shantung Christian University ..	Tsinan, Shantung	1922
*Shaw, Norman	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1912
Shen, Wesley		1930
Sheppard, Rev. G. W.	British & Foreign Bible Society, S'hai	1923
Shioya, T.	Bank of Chosen, 3 Kiukiang Road,	1922
Shirokogoroff, S. M.	Tsing Hua College, Peiping.. . . .	1923
Shu, Dr. H. J.	20 Rue de Paris, Hankow	1921
Siegel, H. W.	Kunst & Albers, Hankow	1932
Silsby, Rev. J. A.		1911
*Sirén, Prof. O.	National Museum, Stockholm, Sweden	1922
Six, Rev. Ray L.	318 Rich St., Mornan, Oklahoma, U.S.A.	1924
Skinner, Dr. A. H.	Hankow	1919
Skvortzow, B. W.		1918
Smith, Ernest K.	Dept. of English, Yenching University, Peiping	1933
Smith, J. Langford		1908
Sokolsky, Geo. E.	302 West 12th Street, New York, U.S.A.	1924
Soothill, Prof. W. E.	4 Bradmore Road, Oxford, England ..	1927
*South Manchuria Railway Co., Library	Dairen	1910
Southcott, Mrs. V. C.	c/o Banca Commerciale Italiano, Flo- rence, Italy	1919
Sorge, Dr. Richard	Post Box 1062, Shanghai	1930
Sowerby, Arthur de C., F.Z.S. ..	The China Journal, 6 Museum Road, Shanghai	1923
Sparke, C. E.	Excess Insurance Co., S'ngnai	1932
Spencer, Joseph E.	Hankow Auditorate, Government Salt Revenue, Hankow	1932
Spiker, Clarence J.	American Legation, Peiping	1918
Stanford University Library ..	Stanford University, California, U.S.A.	1922
*Stedeford, Dr. E. T. A.	Wenchow, China.. . . .	1919
*Stewart, Rev. J. L.	St. Andrew's College, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, Sask., Canada	1916
Stockton, G. C.	600 Rue Frelupt, Shanghai	1914
Stone, Mrs. E. S.		1928
Strehlneek, E. A.	Strehlneek's Gallery of Chinese Arts, 26 Kiangse Road, Shanghai	1909
Struthers, John	China United Apts., Shanghai	1930
Stursberg, W. A.		1919
*Suga, Capt. T.	N. K. K., Tokyo, Japan	1919
Sun, Mrs. J. H.	House No. 1, 333 Yü Yuen Road, Shanghai	1930
Sung, William Z. L.	St. John's University, Shanghai .. .	1933
Swan, Mrs. A. H.	397 S. Fraser Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.	1928
Swann, R. N.	17 The Bund, Shanghai	1926
*Swenson, Rev. Herman	Salem Evangelical Free Church, Ku Yuen, Kansu	1931

Name	Address	Year of Election
Tachibana, M.	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1881
Tarby, H.	Butterfield & Swire, Pootung	1931
Tarby, Mrs. H.	Butterfield & Swire, Pootung	1921
Talbot, R. M.	Customs House, Changsha	1915
*Taylor, C. H. Brewitt	Cathay, Earlsferry, Scotland	1885
Teesdale, J. H.	c/o Thatched House Club, London	1916
Temasi, Dr. G. de		1929
Thomas, Ivor	882 Dunsmuir Road, Victoria, B.C., Canada	1924
Thomas, J. A.	North Street, White Plains N. Y., U.S.A.	1930
Thomas, J. A. T.	c/o Mustard & Co., Shanghai	1890
Thompson, A. B.	c/o J. D. Hutchison & Co., Shanghai	1928
Throop, M. H.	St. John's University, Jessfield, S'hai.	1912
Timpesley, H. J.	32 Ch'un Shu Hutung, Peiping	1931
Ting I-hsien	L. 580 Canton Road, Shanghai	1902
Toller, W. Stark	c/o Foreign Office, London, S. W., England	1907
*Tochtermann, Karl	Schulstrasse 5, Bad Harzburg Bundesheim, Germany	1900
*Torrance, Rev. Thos.	American Bible Society, Chengtu, Sze.	1922
Trivett, Very Rev. Dean, M.A., D.D.	The Deanery, Shanghai	1932
Tsen, Dr. D. C.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1932
Tucker, G. E.	1A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Tucker, Mrs. G. E.	1A Kiukiang Road, Shanghai	1915
Uchida, Naosaku	Tung Wen College, Shanghai	1933
Ungern-Sternberg, Baroness L. von	c/o Siemens (China) Co., Shanghai	1924
Unwin, F. S.	The Angela, Victoria, B. C., Canada	1914
Van Corback, T. B.	367 Kiangse Road, Shanghai.	1913
Vanderburgh, R. M.	Realty Investment Co., 56 Szechuen Road, Shanghai	1927
Vandervort, Charles T.	Menlo Junior College, Menlo Park, California, U.S.A.	1930
Veryard, Robert K.	Y.M.C.A., Changsha	1917
*Vizeninovitch, Mrs. V.		1914
*Vogel, Dr. Jur. Werner	Room 425, 19 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1930
*Volpicelli, Comdr. Z.		1886
Wade, R. H. R.	c/o Inspectorate General of Customs, Shanghai	1918
Wagstaff, W. W.	118 Great Western Road, Shanghai	1922
Walk, Dr. Anton	Salt Revenue, 18 The Bund, Shanghai.	1933
Walker, Mrs. M. P.	St. John's University, Shanghai	1931
Walker, Miss R.	St. Mary's Hall, Shanghai	1929
Walker, W. J. D.	Physics. Dept., Washington University, Saint Louis, Mo., U.S.A.	1930

Name	Address	Year of Election
Waller, A. J.	Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., Shanghai	1916
*Wang, Dr. C. T.	90 Route Amiral Courbet, Shanghai . .	1933
Wang, Chung-Yu	63 Szeming St., S.D.A., Hankow . . .	1924
Ward, H. Lipson	Platt & Co., 83 Peking Road, Shanghai	1928
*Warner, Mrs. G. B.	Oregon Museum of Fine Arts, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, U.S.A.	1925
*Washbrook, H. G.	14 Princes Park Avenue, Golders Green, London, N.W. 11	1908
*Watson, P. T.	Fenchow Hospital, A. B. M., Fenchow, Shansi	1920
Watson, R. A. C.	Ewo Building, 27 The Bund, Shanghai	1930
Way, W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai..	1931
Way, Mrs. W. H.	Jardine Engineering Corp., Shanghai..	1931
Webb, Dr. H. W.		1928
Webster, Rev. James	Mayfield House, Melbourne, Derby, England	1911
Wei, Lott H. T.	The Central Mint, Gordon Road (North End), Shanghai	1931
Welch, A. J.	J. A. Wattie & Co., 10 Canton Road, Shanghai	1933
Welch, Bishop Herbert	Room 615 Missions Bldg., Shanghai . .	1933
Wernay, Mrs. Lucia	P.O. Box No. 1759, Shanghai	1929
Werner, E. T. C.	3 Hsiao Ch'un-shu Hutung, Peiping . .	1915
Westbrook, Dr. C. H., M.A., PH.D. . .	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1930
White, Rev. F. J., D.D.	Shanghai University, Shanghai	1933
White, Dr. Hugh H.	Yencheng, Ku.	1928
White, Miss Laura M.	Christian Literature Society, Shanghai	1916
*White, Rt. Rev. Wm. C.	Bishop of Honan, Kaifengfu	1913
Whittemore, N. C.	Room 27, Christian Literature Bldg., Shoro, Seoul, Chosen	1930
Whyte, Sir Frederick, K.C.S.I.		1930
Whyte, Lady		1930
Wickes, Dr. Dean R.	American Board Mission, Lintsing,	1924
Wilder, Emile	c/o P.O. Box No. 1168, Shanghai . . .	1923
*Wilbur, Mrs. H. A.	c/o Y.M.C.A., Outside West Gate, Seoul, Chosen	1920
Wilden, H. A.	French Legation, Peiping	1917
Wilder, Dr. Geo. D.	American Board Mission, Tehchow, Shantung	1924
Wiley, J. Hundley, M.A., PH.D.	University of Shanghai, Shanghai . . .	1933
*Wilhelm, P.	House No. 4, Lane 70, Hart Road, Shanghai	1924
Wilkinson, E. S.	2 Canton Road, Shanghai	1911
Wilkinson, H. P., K.C., B.C.L.	Tobermore, Co. Derry, Northern Ireland.	1909
*Williams, C. A. S.	C. M. Customs, Peiping	1919
Williams, Dr. J. T.	Room 704, 29 Yuen Ming Yuen Road, Shanghai	1925
Wilson, G. L., F.S.I.	Palmer & Turner, Shanghai	1921
Winter, F. B.	Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Shanghai	1930
Winter, R. S.	S.M.C. Secretariat, Shanghai	

Name	Address	Year of Election
Wissmann, Prof. Dr. von	Central University, Nanking	1932
Wong, Y. W.,	Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai ..	1927
Wood, A. G.	Gibb, Livingston & Co., Shanghai ..	1919
Wood, Mrs. Edwin	25 Kiaochow Road, Shanghai	1921
*Woodward, A. M. Tracey, F.R.G.S., F.R.N.S., F.R.P.S.L.	Chateau Millefleurs, Cadaujac, Gironde, France	1921
*Wright, S. F.	Inspectorate General of Customs, 21 Hart Road, Shanghai	1921
Wu, John C.	c/o The Comparative Law School of China, 103 Quinsan Road, Shanghai	1930
*Wu Lien-teh, Dr.	National Quarantine Service, Room 418, Glen Bldg., Shanghai	1916
Yamada, Kenkichi	Tungwen College, Shanghai	1932
Yankofsky, George	Sei Shin, Chosen	1932
*Yetts, W. Perceval, O.B.E.	4 Aubrey Road, Campden Hill, London, W. 8	1909
Young, R. C.	Municipal Offices, Shanghai	1912
Young, S. C.	Police Station, Gordon Road, Shanghai	1928
Zia, Rev. Z. K.	Christian Literature Society, Shanghai	1931
*Zih Dzu Sing	Chartered Bank, Shanghai	1932
*Zwier, Rev. Samuel M., D.D.	The Theological Seminary, 48 Merser Street, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.	1917

TOTALS:

CLASSIFIED AS:—

Honorary Members	13	Residing in Shanghai	326
Corresponding Members	1	Residing elsewhere in China ..	123
Life Members	142	Residing in other countries ..	176
Ordinary Members	539	Address unknown	70

Total .. 695

Total .. 695

List 1932	608	Resignations	18
New Members	109	Deaths	4

Total .. 717

Total .. 22

717

22

Present Membership 695



